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New Series, Vol. X.

Number I.

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,

AND

NOTES AND QUERIES

CONCERNING

The Antiquities, History, and Biography

OF

AMERICA.

July, 1871.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:

HENRY B. DAWSON.

CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER.

	Page.		Page.
I.—From Brooklyn to Brandywine. A Sketch of the Campaigns of General Washington, from September, 1776, to September, 1777. <i>A Paper read before the Historical Society of Delaware, November 11, 1869, by WILLIAM T. READ, Esq.</i>	1	<i>ica, preceded by a Memoir of its Author, by Rev. JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D.D., President of Wabash-college, Crawfordsville, Indiana</i>	36
II.—A Military Memoir of William Mahone, a Major-general in the Confederate Army. <i>By General J. WATTS DE PEYSTER. Re-printed, by request, with a correspondence and alterations of the original text.</i>	12	V.—The Early Baptists, in Central New York. <i>By Revs. A. HOSMER and J. LAWTON. Continued</i>	43
III.—Lansingburgh, N. Y. Its Early History, Old Settlers, Markets, Schools, etc. <i>Continued</i>	33	VI.—Vindication of Volume I. of <i>The Collections of the Vermont Historical Society</i> , from the attacks of the <i>New York Historical Magazine</i> . <i>By Hon. HILAND HALL. With illustrative Notes and a Letter to Governor Hall, by HENRY B. DAWSON.</i>	49
IV.—Sketch of the history of the Presbyterian Churches, in Morris-county, New Jersey. <i>By the late Rev. RICHARD WEBSTER, one of the historians of the Presbyterian Church in Amer-</i>		VII.—The "Nations" of the Vermillion Lake District. <i>From The Bayfield [Wis.] Press</i>	69
		VIII.—Books.....	73

TO OUR READERS.

It will be seen that, in this number, an extra sheet of sixteen pages has been added to the usual space of sixty-four pages. This has been done at the request and expense of General Mahone, in order that we might re-print, in an altered form, the Memoir of himself which, as it was originally written, we printed, also in an extra sheet, at the request and expense of its author, in our number for June, 1870. The original publication, for reasons which were assigned, was distasteful to us; this re-publication has not been attended with any particular pleasure; and, it is not unlikely, it will be productive of discomfort and bitterness of feeling, somewhere. We have not taxed our readers, in either case, by occupying space which belonged to them; and we ask them respectfully, to bear with us, in this unpleasant matter. We may have to trouble them again, on our own account; but, beyond that, they will not be troubled with this unwelcome subject.

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. X. SECOND SERIES.]

JULY, 1871.

No. 1.

I.—FROM BROOKLYN TO BRANDYWINE.

A SKETCH OF THE CAMPAIGNS OF GENERAL WASHINGTON, FROM SEPTEMBER, 1776, TO SEPTEMBER, 1777.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE, NOVEMBER 11, 1869,
BY WILLIAM T. READ, ESQ.

The Battle of Brooklyn [August 27th, 1776,] was fought and lost. The victors, in grim repose, awaited the dawn of the twenty-ninth, to storm the American lines; but that dawn showed to the astonished foe these lines evacuated. So skilfully was conducted this retreat, as honorable to Washington as a victory, that not a sound indicated to the British sentinels the movement; not a soldier was left behind; all the military stores and most of the provisions brought off; and all the guns, except a few of a large calibre, which the state of the roads made it impossible to remove—and the fog, unusually dense, at that season, let fall, “I believe, by divine providence,” to hide from the British war-ships the retreating Army, did not lift till the transports, bearing its vanguard, entered the harbor of New York.

The city of New York could not be held, such was the overwhelming superiority of the British Army, in number, equipment, and discipline. It was evacuated. Several positions were then taken by the American Army; the strongest at King's-bridge. From Howe's movements, it was evident that his object was to gain Washington's rear; force him to fight; and, in the event of defeat, precluding retreat, make it certain that he must surrender at discretion or be cut to pieces; and, therefore, York Island was evacuated. Both armies moved towards the White Plains, where a camp had been formed and occupied by Militia, to guard a deposit of provisions, there. The American Army was marshalled in a series of entrenched camps, on several hills, for ten or twelve miles from Valentine's-hill, near King's-bridge, to White Plains, fronting the British and the river Bronx, which separated them. Howe avoided skirmishing—his desire was to bring on a great battle; while that of Washington was to

avoid it and protract the campaign, preserving his Army, soon to be dissolved by the expiration of their term of service, till replaced by a new one to be raised.

Howe marched slowly and cautiously, with compact encampments, well guarded by the artillery.

On the first of October, 1776, Gunning Bedford, Lieutenant-colonel of the Delaware Regiment, who died in 1797, Governor of Delaware, wrote, from the American camp, to his brother-in-law, George Read:—“The chief part of our time, since leaving Long Island, we have been ‘encamped on the heights of Morrisano, on the other side of King's Bridge, two miles apart. ‘By information lately received, and which the General acquainted us with in General Orders, they’ [the enemy] ‘are meditating something speedy, which has put us on our guard, for the few nights past, the army parading and marching down to the lines, two hours before day, and when the lines are completed (and they are very forward) I think our situation will be a very good one—should the enemy attempt to carry them they will suffer greatly. ‘Our army, in general, is much reduced by sickness, or something else, as our Regiment appears equal to any two I have yet seen in the service; and we want seventy to complete us, and have one hundred sick. Our army suffers much for many things, the sick particularly, as there appears to be no medicines, anywhere. I know it to be the case with our Regiment and many others. Upon the whole, ‘I think it has been a discouraging Campaign, and a hard one. I have not been well till within these few days. I feel better since I left Philadelphia, though I have lost no duty. ‘Colonel Haslett and the Major are both unwell. ‘The Colonel is in the country, about five miles off, otherwise I think I should go to Philadelphia shortly to provide some winter-clothing for our people and blankets, which near two hundred of them are without.’”

* *Life and Correspondence of George Read, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, Chapter III.—Unpublished.*

General Howe, on the twenty-eighth of October, attacked the American lines. The engagement was spirited on both sides; and the loss of both from three to four hundred. The only advantage of the British was their carrying a hill, held by General McDougal, to cover the right flank of the American Army. The British Army lay on their arms, through the night succeeding the Battle of White Plains, on the ground they had carried.

Colonel Bedford wrote to George Read, on the second of November: "Since our leaving York Island we have been in perpetual motion. The enemy moving has likewise caused our Regiment to do so. I have now slept five nights without a tent or anything but the bare ground to lie upon, and not a blanket to cover us, our baggage being ten miles from us and our station advanced toward the enemy, which is always our case. I have very little convenience of writing, at present, being obliged to sit on the bare ground, and use the back of a letter. I would inform you of the occurrences, lately. About ten days since Colonel Haslet, Major Green of the Virginias, and myself were ordered, with six hundred men, to march and attack Colonel Rogers (the famous Major Rogers formerly) and his Regiment, which was supposed to be about three hundred strong, or his out-guard. Accordingly, we proceeded, but, instead of meeting with his main body, our guides brought us (about eleven o'clock at night) on their picket guard, consisting of about seventy men, thirty-six of whom we brought off and about fifty muskets, and as many blankets, the rest, I believe, were chiefly slain, as several deserters from their Corps—they are called Royal Rangers—say but two escaped. We had two men killed. Major Green, who had the chief merit on that occasion, made the first attack, with one hundred and fifty men, was wounded through the shoulder near the socket (but hope he will recover) and six or seven men wounded. The place we attacked was about ten miles from our camp, and called Merrymack. Instead of three hundred, they had six hundred men, and fled on the alarm. Last Monday, the enemy advanced near our lines on the White Plains. Our Regiment was ordered to reinforce General McDougal's Brigade, which occupied an advantageous hill.† The enemy soon made preparations to gain it, and at last succeeded, after our defending it in the best manner we could, with our small number, in comparison with the enemy and a large train of artillery. They cannonaded us with their whole force,

"which I suppose was as great as any brought against us, which forced a retreat. Our Regiment lost about fifteen killed and as many wounded. Captain Adams, of our Regiment, we fear, is killed, as he is missing.

"We had an Ensign Hazard shot through the arm, which is broken. Captain Caldwell is slightly wounded in the wrist, and myself in the arm, but am now quite well of it, as is Caldwell. The night before last, our lines at White Plains were evacuated, and the enemy took possession. We are but five miles from them, and expect them here next, probably, to-morrow. We have just received orders, while I am writing this, to fortify this post. There is only Lord Stirling's Brigade here. We are on the right of the whole army, and it is supposed the enemy mean to surround us, which can only be done by forcing their way on our right."

Washington, Howe not having followed up his partial success, at White Plains, as expected, changed position, in the night, to the hills of North-Castle, five miles distant, to which his baggage had been sent. Howe, judging it too hazardous to attack the American lines, then changed his plan of operations, directing them against Fort Washington, on the Hudson, which was taken, and then moved to New Jersey, pushing through that State to reach the Delaware and then Philadelphia. Washington retreated into New Jersey, and then slowly through it, his feeble Army not more than four thousand in number, weakened by the withdrawal of the Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland troops, whose terms of service had expired, or were about to do so, by sickness and desertion, hoping, if reinforced, to baffle the British General. On the first of December, he reached the river Delaware; and, on the second of December, in boats, his foresight secured, his remaining military stores and baggage were transported across the river, with his sick, who were sent to Philadelphia. Washington remained, with the remnant of his Army, on the North side of the Delaware; and they were destitute of tents, blankets, and utensils, some of them almost naked and without shoes.

Criticism, too often malignant, pursued Washington, in his retreat, after the Battle of Brooklyn. The sneer of Lee—that he conducted his campaign with the pickaxe and the spade—passed from mouth to mouth of the clique, inside of Congress and outside of it, who sought the elevation of Lee to the command of the American armies. In the gloomy state of our affairs, at that time, they probably believed that, almost in his grasp, was the baton of supreme authority, about to fall from the imbecile hand of an incompetent General, who would

hide his mortification in the groves of Mount Vernon.

Lee was not without military talent, but, with over-weening opinion of himself, he was inordinately ambitious, intriguing, unscrupulous, and indiscreet. He was almost ugly; rough in his manners; slovenly; crabbed, wrote one lady—morose, another—pro'ane in discourse; and bad in moral conduct; and neither feared nor loved God or man—but with an acute intellect and varied and extensive knowledge; fluent and brilliant in discourse; too often cynical and censorious. He was, I think, overestimated until after the Battle of Monmouth—as was Gates, till his failure in his Southern command exposed the hollowness of his pretensions. On his journey to take command of the Southern Army, he visited Lee, who, recently exchanged, was on his farm in Virginia. Lee, as he bade him farewell, warned him “to beware that his Northern laurels should not be turned to Southern willows.” This warning seemed to be a prophecy and a covert sneer.

I have often recoiled, with loathing, from the base intrigues of Gates to supplant Washington. Congress honored Gates by a vote of thanks, a medal, and the command of the Southern Army, for the successful conducting of the Northern campaign and its glorious termination by the surrender of Burgoyne, when, in truth, Congress was indebted for this happy result to the wise plans, energetic measures, and sacrifices of the noble-minded Philip Schuyler. He has received, at the hands of posterity, the justice withheld by his contemporaries.

The advance of Cornwallis compelled Washington, on the eighth of December, to cross the Delaware, with his two thousand men, of whom only one half were effective; the van of the British, with rolling of drums, clashing of cymbals, and braying of trumpets, entering Trenton, as the rear of the American Army touched the right bank of the Delaware.

Lee, disobeying Washington's peremptory and repeated orders to join him, lingered in Jersey, prolonging his independent command, it has been conjectured, that he might, by some splendid stroke, should opportunity for it occur, greatly enhance his reputation, or, should the American Army be defeated, the likelihood of which was increased by withholding his troops, he would be the sole hope of Congress. Whatever were his designs, he was surprised and captured; and Sullivan, who succeeded him in command, immediately put the troops, three thousand in number, in motion, and joined Washington, as did Gates, with part of the Northern Army, on the twenty-first of December, making his whole force about seven thousand.

Christmas, 1776, dawned gloomily. Dark clouds were driven by cold blasts athwart the sky. Snow, so suggestive of desolation, covered the ground, seemingly dead, in the embrace of Winter. The deepest despondency prevailed. All seemed lost. Jersey was subdued; multitudes in Pennsylvania, it was believed, would soon accept the terms of amnesty proclaimed by the Howes, and Washington be without an Army; while the British would issue from their cantonments, to ravage with fire and sword, confronted only by ill-disciplined militia. The re-establishment of the British rule, in a ten-fold degree more despotic, seemed inevitable; while, for the best, and wisest, and bravest of the Americans, whether statesmen or soldiers, there loomed, in the distance, the gallows, confiscation, and exile. Christmas, 1776, was not with them a day of joy and festivity. Gratitude to God, for his unspeakable gift, which the day commemorated, glowed in many Christian bosoms; but it was stilled by despondency and dread. It seemed more fitting their condition to sit in ashes and be clad with sack-cloth than to spread the festal board and deck with evergreens their houses and their temples.

Cornwallis, unable to obtain boats to transport his Army across the Delaware, suspended his march on Philadelphia till that river should be bridged by ice. Four thousand of his troops were cantoned in New Jersey towns, on the Delaware, and the residue between that river and the Hackensack.

Washington, on the right bank of the Delaware, in a condition apparently almost hopeless, did not yield to despondency and the inaction which is its sure result. To tell men of their faults is never pleasant and often not safe; but Washington did not hesitate to renew his warning to Congress against short enlistments and reliance on the Militia, which had proved so disastrous. He urged reform in the Army—organization; increase of Regiments and of his own powers; and his want of Engineers, Cavalry, and Artillery. “Some might think he was transcending his position and his duty, in urging his opinions and advice so earnestly and freely upon Congress—especially the increase of his own powers—but none would more willingly than himself turn the sword into the ploughshare, for he had no lust of power. He had a character to lose, a life to peril, an estate to forfeit, and the inestimable blessing of liberty at stake”—this was his excuse: thus he wrote.

His call for Militia, to protect Philadelphia, was met by volunteers, who were posted at several places on the Delaware.

After his reinforcement of the troops lately

commanded by Lee, Washington determined to assume the offensive. His Regulars, a few excepted, were posted above Trenton, from Yardley's to Corryell's ferry; General Irvine, with the Pennsylvania and Jersey Militia, from Yardley's to the ferry opposite Bordentown; and the residue of the Pennsylvania Militia, under General Cadwallader, further down the Delaware.

Trenton and Bordentown were garrisoned by Hessians. Their discipline was lax; and, hired by petty sovereigns trafficking in the flesh and blood of serfs, as of beasts, to fight without principle, and unrestrained by their officers, they were guilty of excessive plunderings and outrages. Their dispersed situation made it impossible for them to support each other, if suddenly attacked, and suggested the probable success of such attacks, on both these posts, if simultaneously made; and Washington determined they should be made. With about twenty-four hundred Regulars, on the twenty-fifth day of December, 1776, with more delay than he anticipated, in a fierce storm of sleet, rain, and snow, he passed the Delaware, at McKonkey's-ferry, nine miles from Trenton; thence, they marched, in two Divisions—one on the river, the other on the Pennington-road, both leading to the city—one entering at the West end, the other side at the North, at its back. Washington was with the upper Division. Both Divisions reached Trenton at eight o'clock, A. M., and attacked simultaneously. The surprise was complete. The picket-guard, driven in, fired from the houses; cannon, turned on the Americans, were charged on and taken by two brave officers, one of whom, afterward, became President of our new-born Republic. Colonel Rahl, hastily mounting his horse, when the roll of the American drums announced his peril, bravely trying to rally his men, soon fell, mortally wounded; and, resistance being hopeless, the Hessians surrendered.

Tradition tells, that Rahl passed the night of Christmas, carousing with a party of friends; and that, as the day was dawning, on the twenty-sixth, a scroll was brought him from a tory, announcing the march of Washington, but that, without reading, he thrust it into his pocket, with the thought, perhaps not uttered, "Business to-morrow, pleasure now." General Irving was prevented, by driving ice, from crossing with his command; and the bridge over the Assanpink, in consequence, unguarded; and over it five hundred Hessians and one hundred Cavalry and Chasseurs escaped towards Bordentown. General Cadwallader was, in like manner, prevented from crossing the Delaware, to surprise the Hessians, at Bordentown. In so far this well-devised enterprise failed, as plans,

depending for success on combinations of Divisions or Columns, have failed, frequently.

The fruits of the victory were one thousand prisoners, six brass field-pieces, twelve drums, and four flags—among them that of the Anspach Regiment, of white damask, bearing, embroidered with silver thread, crown and eagle, with the motto "PRO PRINCIPE ET PATRIA."

Washington could not hold Trenton. Donop, with his veterans, superior in number, was below him; and a strong Battalion of Infantry at Princeton. His own troops were worn out by exertion and exposure, through the inclement past night and morning; and the prisoners must be secured. He therefore re-crossed the Delaware, on the twenty-seventh of December.

Throughout the States, on intelligence of this brilliant and successful stroke, astonishment overmastered joy; and, at the British headquarters and cantonments, there were mortification and astonishment. It was a marvel that "Mr. Washington," as they styled him, the derided rebel-leader, beaten at Brooklyn, chased through New-Jersey, cowering with his half-naked, barefooted Army, on the right bank of the Delaware, should start forth the enterprising General, in contrast to their own leader—the common-place, indolent, unenterprising, and sensual Howe. They may not have believed, with some European philosophers, that man and beast had degenerated in America, but were persuaded that their Army was immeasurably superior to the rebel host, in courage and all the other noble and chivalric attributes of the soldier. Their mortification was therefore proportioned to the arrogance that preceded it.

We must not forget the prisoner Rahl—Washington did not. He repaired to his quarters, in the family of a benevolent Quaker, where he was carefully attended; he stood by his bed; he pressed his hand and uttered words of sympathy and consolation. Life was fast ebbing away. Rahl was dying, far from his fatherland—his post lost by his lack of vigilance; and the laurels he had won at the recent capture of Fort Washington, withered and turned into a funeral chaplet. At this awful hour he thought not of himself, but of his captive soldiers. He feared that their recent atrocities in New Jersey would be avenged upon them; and implored Washington to treat them with clemency. He was assured that they should be so treated; and the assurance was fulfilled. The Hessian prisoners were sent to the interior of Virginia. At first, as they passed through towns and villages, they were met with taunts and maledictions; but as soon as, by the benevolent precaution of Washington, it was known that they were not volunteers in the British Army,

bnt sold, like beasts in the market, to England to fight against her rebel Colonies, hatred was converted into pity; and they were received in silence, or with gentle words and deeds of kindness, though hundreds of American prisoners had perished and were dying under the cruelties of the *Jersey* prison-ship.

The mercenary has thus been characterised: "*Nullum vite genus est improbius quam, qui, sine cause respectu mercede conducti, militant.*" They changed services, often, without regard to the justice of the cause of any of them. They had no love of country, usually so intense and enduring, and even had lost the idea of country. Their moral code was reduced to one obligation—that of fidelity to the States they served, while their engagements with them lasted, though they changed services with as much indifference as they changed their spirits. Their bravery—for they were brave—was mere animal courage; and they were ruthless robbers wherever they could plunder. They were bandits; not true soldiers, who deplored the inevitable miseries of war, while they inflicted them; who regarded women, even the humblest, with somewhat of the reverence of the Knights-errant of old for the weaker sex; and whose arms were raised, not to destroy, but to protect men in decrepitude and infants in their helpless innocence.

Treaties between England and the Duke of Brunswick, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the Hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel were, on the twenty-ninth of February, 1775, laid before the British Parliament. By these Treaties, four thousand three hundred Brunswickers and twelve thousand Hessians were added to the British Army, for annual subsidies, to be paid, to the Duke of Brunswick, £15,519, for the Hessians, £114,298, and to both Princes, £7., 4s., 4d., per man for levy-money, and the same sum for every man killed. The pay of these mercenaries to be that of British soldiers. Opposition reprobated the employment of foreign mercenaries against British subjects; but these Treaties were approved by large majorities, in both Houses.—Bisset's *History of George III.*, ii., 385.

That these contracts, negotiated by Ambassadors, were called Treaties, and the sums by them agreed to be paid, the blood-money, termed "Subsidies," may have veiled but could not lessen the turpitude of this base traffic. Of the men thus sold to military bondage, many were maimed, or ruined in their constitutions and deprived in their morals. In this employment of German mercenaries, the only novel feature was their being used against British subjects; for, long before, they had been hired by British Ministers as auxiliary to their armies. For example: Parliament granted, in 1727, over £200,000. for

maintenance of twelve thousand Hessian troops—Bisset's *History of England*, i., 563—and, in 1750, they had in the service thirty-eight thousand, seven hundred and fifty soldiers of Hanover, Wolfenbuttel, Saxe Gotha, and Buskeburg, costing, for their yearly maintenance, over £100,600, in addition to the subsidies for these mercenaries.—Bisset's *History*, ii., 590.

Among the wrongs suffered by the American Colonies, set forth in their Declaration of Independence, is the transporting, by the King of Great Britain, of large bodies of mercenaries, to complete the work of death, desolation, and tyranny already begun.

Several of the minor German Principalities were very small. Of one of them, the standing Army was one Regiment; and if it had a Navy, we may suppose it was a yacht, on an artificial lake. I have smiled when I have read of the Courts of these paltry States, with their Chamberlains, Equerries, and Almoners; their pompous ceremonials and rigidly-enforced etiquette—poor aping of the Courts of the great Kingdoms—but ceased to smile when I remember that some of these mimic Courts were maintained by selling their subjects into military bondage, or by licensing gambling-hells, which attracted black-legs and their dupes, from every part of Europe.

The Hessian Colonel, Count Donop, mortally wounded in his unsuccessful attack on Fort Mercer, Red Bank, New Jersey, and a prisoner, a short time before his death, said:—"I die the victim of my ambition and the avarice of my Sovereign!"

Trenton, reoccupied by Washington, on the thirtieth of December, is thus described, in a pamphlet, published at Philadelphia, in 1789, entitled *A Letter to the Abbe Raynal on the Affairs of North America*: "Trenton is situated on a rising ground, about three quarters of a mile distant from the Delaware, on the eastern, or Jersey, side; and it is cut into two divisions, by a small creek or rivulet, sufficient to turn a mill which is upon it, after which it empties itself, at nearly right angles, into the Delaware. The upper division, which is to the North-east, contains about seventy or eighty houses; and the lower, about forty or fifty. The ground, on each side of this creek, and on which the houses are, is likewise rising; and the two divisions present an agreeable prospect to each other, with the creek between."

Intelligence that large reinforcements to the American Army were on their way, determined Washington to again cross the Delaware, in the hope of overtaking Donop, retreating from Bordentown. On the twenty-ninth of December, this re-crossing was commenced; and was not completed until the thirtieth.

Washington posted the main body of his

Army on the East bank of the Assanpink ; and his artillery to command a narrow bridge over it, where it was very deep ; and his advance three miles off, covered by a wood behind Shabakong-creek.

The sailing of Cornwallis for England was stopped by the intelligence of the surprise at Trenton, as he was in command of the British Army, in Jersey. He reached Shabakong, with all his force, except his rear-guard, under General Leslie, which halted half way between Trenton and Princeton. The American advance was drawn in ; but Hand's Corps checked the British, for a while, so that the sun had almost set when they reached Trenton ; then, attacking by columns, they made several attempts to cross the bridge over the Assanpink, but were repulsed by the American artillery ; and, at night, encamped. Cornwallis, instead of attacking, that night, as he was advised to do, delayed the assault, sure, he said, "that he would bag the fox, next morning."

As darkness fell upon the armies, face to face their camp-fires blazed. It was a night of peril, indeed, from which no way of escape appeared—to await the assault of the enemy would result in total defeat ; to retreat across the Delaware, full of masses of floating ice, was almost impracticable, and, if effected, Jersey would be again occupied by the British, Philadelphia taken, and the newly awakened hopes of his countrymen give place to despair. But, oh ! happy suggestion, not of another's but of his own genius, is it not practicable, by a quick march, this night, to surprise and destroy, or capture, the enemy at Princeton ; and, then, "at Brunswick, with their stores?" He at once submitted this plan of operation to a military Council, who unanimously approved it. The baggage was sent to Burlington. But an obstacle presented itself, so formidable, that it almost scared Washington from this bold movement. The thaw which succeeded the recent excessive cold, had rendered the ground so soft as to make the roads almost untravelable by an Army. But, suddenly, the wind changed to the North ; the mild weather gave place to very cold ; and, quickly, the ground was hard-frozen. Washington ascribed this happy circumstance, as he did the discovery of Arnold's treason, not to fortune, but to Providence, which, said he, "has been so often and remarkably manifested in our favor." Shame upon us, if, from fear of being thought superstitious, we hesitate to own the hand of God in events which determine the destiny of nations. The American Army noiselessly withdrew. A party was left to replenish the camp-fires, till dawn, and throw up earth-works, near the bridge over the Assanpink, to deceive the enemy into the belief that the American Army was slumbering

within its late camp. "The line of camp-fires ;" in the words of the pamphlet cited, "effectually hid from the British whatever was doing behind them, for flame can no more be seen through than a wall, and, in this sense, while a pillar of fire to one Army was a pillar of cloud to the other."

The direct road to Princeton could not be taken, because General Leslie was upon it, with his Brigade, at Maidenhead, half-way to Princeton. Washington, therefore, marched upon the Quaker-road, through Allentown, which was somewhat circuitous. Newly-opened, it was full of stumps, stones, and inequalities of surface. The stars, with their soft and silvery rays, gave somewhat of light ; their worn habiliments little protected the soldiers from the wind that chilled them : they left no footprints on the frozen ground ; but it was crimsoned by the blood from many of their feet. Three British Regiments—the Seventeenth, Fortieth, and Fifty-fifth—were quartered, during the past night, in Princeton, to join Cornwallis in the morning. The Seventeenth had left ; and the Fifty-fifth was about to march, also. The Seventeenth, commanded by Colonel Mawhood, crossed the bridge over Stony-brook, on the direct road to Trenton, and marching through a wood, beyond it, and attaining the summit of a hill, about sunrise, the glittering of the arms of Mercer's Brigade, the van of the American Army, discovered it. It was partially hid by the woods ; and Mawhood supposed it to be a party of the Americans, defeated by Cornwallis, and flying. He made, therefore, a detour to retard it, while the Regiments, in Princeton, apprized by messengers, hastily sent, should surround it. As he recrossed Stony-brook-bridge, he came in full view of the head of Mercer's Brigade. Each tried to reach an elevated spot, near the house of a Quaker named Clark. The Americans outstripped the British, and formed there, behind a hedge, in front of the house, and fired, effectively ; but, when charged, being armed only with rifles, broke. Mercer dismounted, his horse being disabled ; and, in trying to rally his retreating men, was felled by the butt of a musket and bayoneted. After the battle, he was taken, insensible, to Clark's house, where he died, on the twelfth of January. Colonel Haslett, fell dead, struck in the head by a musket-ball. Both were physicians ; and Haslett, moreover, an ordained Presbyterian Clergyman. Both were educated, beloved for their virtues, and conspicuously patriotic.

Mawhood pursued the retreating Brigade till arrested by a detachment of Pennsylvania Militia, sent to support it ; and, as soon as he saw it, he opened fire on it with his artillery, and checked it. Washington came up ; rallied Mer-

eer's broken troops; and urged forward the checked Militia; and the fight became desperate. The Seventh Virginia Regiment came up; and Mawhood, sensible that he was surrounded, charging with the bayonet, escaped, with heavy loss, to join Cornwallis. The Fifty-fifth Regiment, in the meantime, had retreated to Brunswick. The Fortieth could not arrive in time to support the other two. Part of it also retreated towards Brunswick; and the remainder fled to the College, but, cannon being about to open on it, it surrendered.

Washington led the pursuit of the British, fleeing towards Brunswick: but, after advancing about three miles, called a Council of War, on horseback. The question proposed was, "should 'he push on to Brunswick.'" The taking of the stores there, would crown his victory; but his soldiers were exhausted by their march of the preceding night and fight of that morning, thinly clad, without blankets, many of them barefooted, and the cold intense; and Cornwallis would soon overtake him. Washington, therefore, abandoned the pursuit and retired to Morristown.

One hundred British, at least, were killed in the battle of Princeton, on the spot; some wounded; and near three hundred made prisoners, including fourteen officers. The loss of the Americans was twenty-five or thirty, including, besides Mercer and Haslett, several valuable officers.

Cornwallis left his marque, on the morning of the third of January, as the day dawned, to "bag 'the fox,' as he had vaunted he would do. When he looked abroad, there was the Assanpink flowing on; there was the bridge, successfully defended against his assaults; and there was the field, yesterday held by the American Army, but there was no Army, there. To his dismay and confusion, the truth flashed upon him—instead of "bagging the fox," he was outgeneraled. Washington had marched to surprise his Regiments, at Princeton, and capture his military chest and stores, at Brunswick. Not a moment was lost. His Army was formed and marched, precipitately. The thunder of cannon and rattle of small-arms soon showed the whereabouts of the Americans. Cornwallis reached Stony-brook, soon after Washington retired from Princeton, and found the bridge over it destroyed, and forded it with the water breast-high to his soldiers. Pressing forward, rapidly, he found New-Brunswick unassailed. His stores and military-chest were safe; but his reputation dimmed. He was spared the painful anticipation, that he might be more deeply humiliated by the surrender of his sword and a British Army to this same Washington.

Howe was, with the main body of his Army,

in Winter-quarters, in the city of New York; and the residue concentrated in Amboy and New Brunswick. Washington found Morristown so suitable for his Winter-quarters that he made them, there. He was safe from approach, from the East, in a great degree. Behind it, were hills with defiles where he could be secure from the enemy, if driven from his camp, and a country that could supply provisions and forage. His troops were huddled in a beautiful valley—Lowantica, its softly sounding name, from the pelucid streamlet which mended through it. Strong was the contrast between these two Armies, in their Winter-quarters. New York was, to the British, a Capua. "New York," writes a British historian—Bissett's *History of the Reign of George III.*, i., 428—"bore the aspect of "a gay and voluptuous city, in time of Peace, "rather than that of a military station for watching and annoying the enemy, in War. Howe "enjoyed the luxuries of London—gaming was "his favorite pastime, into which many of his "young officers were thoroughly initiated. "There were balls, the theater, routes, banquets, "in abundance," with occasional awakening of enterprise, by raids in New Jersey and Connecticut, made infamous by conflagrations of towns, and churches, and solitary farm-houses, plunder, murder of old and decrepit men, and outrages on helpless women. Turn we to the American encampment—"Let vice and immorality be discouraged, as much as possible; and, "as there is a Chaplain for every Regiment, see "that the men regularly assemble for Divine "Worship," was Washington's Order to his Brigadiers; and he added, "Let gaming of every "kind be expressly forbidden—the cause of many "an officer's ruin." The period from January to June, wasted by Howe, in pleasure, was spent by Washington in training and organizing his raw recruits.

Such was the contrast. It recalls that between the Cavaliers and Round-heads, in the great English Rebellion, but with this difference—the officers at New York, with the vices of the Cavaliers, wasted their self-sacrificing loyalty to an ideal King, such as Charles was not; and the British soldiers fought because it was their profession, indifferent to the cause of the contest. In the American Camp, was the Puritan devotion to liberty, with their piety, to be conceded to them, but without their fanaticism, with its brood of heresies, in politics and religion.

The Jersey Militia, before the recent success of Washington, ready to submit, during the Winter of 1777, maddened by the outrages of the Hessians, every where turned out and hunted them, with the Tories, as they would have chased noxious beasts, and attacked the British foraging-parties.

In May, General Washington, left his Winter-quarters, with his army of seventeen thousand men, and posted them at Middlebrook, ten miles from New-Brunswick, New-Jersey, a strong position, which he strengthened by fortification. Howe, with his veteran and well-appointed Army, must soon open the Campaign; but, with his wonted indolence and indecision, he lingered, "because," said he, "there was no green food on the ground," when he could, in the hay and oats of the last harvest, have found better food for his horses.* Men anxiously asked what was his plan of campaign—would he seize the strong positions on the Hudson, and co-operate with Bourgoyne, or was his object Philadelphia? Washington could not determine, and, therefore, remained at Middlebrook, a central point, whence he could move North or South, as Howe's movement would require. Early in June, Howe established his Head-quarters at Brunswick; and, having failed, by a feigned movement towards Philadelphia, to draw Washington from his intrenchments and to bring on a general engagement, at the close of June, evacuated New Jersey.

Great, for some time, was the anxiety of Washington and of the nation. Of the evils of war, suspense is not the least,

It was announced that there was a movement in the British fleet; then, that the baggage of their Army was embarked; then, the Army; then, the fleet had dropped down to the lower harbor of New York; and, at last, that, on the twenty-third of July, it had sailed, with thirty-six Battalions on board, a Corps of Loyalists, and a Regiment of Light-horse, amounting to between fifteen and eighteen thousand men, with a powerful train of artillery. Where would the threatened blow be struck? Men paused in their labors, to ask for news from a passing neighbor or traveller. The express-rider was eagerly questioned, as, with hot haste, he rode, and deigned no reply. Every breeze wafted its rumor. Coming events cast their shadows before; and they were dark and portentous. The boldest held their breath, for a time.

Washington moved South, with his Army; but uncertain as to the design of Howe, who might purpose, by a feint, to draw him southward, and retrace his course, to co-operate with Bourgoyne or renew the war in New England, he halted at Corryel's Ferry, thirty miles from Philadelphia. On the thirty-first of July, Washington heard, by express, that the British fleet was within the Capes of Delaware; and he moved, with his Army, to Germantown.

On the first of August, at the close of an entertainment in the City-tavern, Philadelphia, at

which Washington was a guest, there was introduced to him a youth, a Frenchman. It was Gilbert Motiere La Fayette. Having adopted, for his political creed, the just principles for which our fore-fathers were contending, and sympathizing with them, in this contest, he had left his country, his bride, and brilliant prospects; and, in a vessel bought and equipped by himself, had voyaged to our country, to serve in her armies, as a volunteer. Congress, the day before this introduction, had commissioned La Fayette, a Major-general.† There was no separate command to offer him: Washington, therefore, favorably impressed by his graceful manners and modest bearing, invited him to be a member of his military family. This day is memorable for the dawn of a friendship, that between Washington and La Fayette, as admirable as any of the friendships historians have perpetuated or poets sung.

Too soon our forefathers were again disturbed by the fears, the doubts, and the reconciliations, the result of their uncertainty as to Howe's destination, aggravated by a brief respite from them, for, on the first of August, Washington heard, by express, that he had sailed from the Bay of Delaware, standing to the East. By appearing with his fleet, at different points, did he aim at luring Washington to follow, and leave the country on the Hudson open for the junction of Clinton and his troops, at New York, with Bourgoyne, or was his object Charleston, where was a valuable depot of stores and provisions? Washington thought Charleston was not the point of attack intended, for it was not an object adequate; was distant; winds were baffling; his fleet might be scattered by a tempest; and his Army, if landed there, be decimated by disease. On the tenth of August, this distressing uncertainty was terminated by intelligence that the British fleet, of one hundred and twenty-eight sail, had entered Chesapeake-bay, and were sailing upward, on that great estuary. Philadelphia, beyond doubt, was to be assailed by the British force, marched overland, from the head of this bay. Washington, when doubt thus ceased, was as decisive in resolve and prompt in execution as he had been calm and self-possessed, when uncertainty prevailed. He immediately moved, southward, with his Army, passing through Philadelphia, to overawe the disaffected—too numerous, there.

Howe, on the twenty-fifth of August, began to land his troops, six miles from head of Elk and seventy from Philadelphia, expecting to find friends in Cecil-county and the lower Counties of Delaware, where were many Quaker non-combatants and Tories. Washington, apprized of Howe's landing, the evening of that day, after

a brief pause at the Brandywine, to rest and refresh his troops, moved towards the enemy, the Divisions of Greene and Stephens in advance, to secure a large quantity of stores, at Elk.

General Rodney, commanding the Delaware Militia, was ordered to throw out parties to harass the enemy.

The only eminences were Iron and Gray's Mills, the latter two miles from the British. The people were in great terror; and Howe, in a Proclamation, issued on the twenty-seventh of August, offered safety to all who would remain at home, and pardon to all who would submit. But the Militia had turned out with spirit; and the Proclamation had little if any effect.

The British Army was formed in two columns—one, under Howe, at Elk; the other, under Knyphausen, at Cecil Court-house.

Washington spent several days in reconnoitering. He determined to risk a battle, in the open field; for he could not suffer Philadelphia to fall without fighting to save it. Public impatience demanded a battle; and it was expected in Europe.

The enemy, on the third of September, in considerable force, with three field-pieces, advanced, but cautiously—the country being wooded, difficult, and unknown to them. Three miles from White-Clay-creek, they were encountered by General Maxwell's light-troops, and several skirmishes ensued; but, the latter having no artillery, he was forced to retreat, with the loss of forty, killed and wounded.

The American Army, amounting to about eleven thousand men, on the fifth of September, was posted behind Red Clay-creek, (except the Light-infantry) its left at Newport, on the Christiana, and its right, a considerable distance up that river, to Hockessin. On this ground, it seemed probable, would be fought the battle which would decide the fate of Philadelphia; and Washington, in a General Order, endeavored to animate his soldiers by appeals to which few are insensible.

The British advanced, on the eighth of September, in two columns, one, apparently, to attack, in front; the other extended its left up the West side of Red Clay-creek, halting at Milltown, somewhat to the left of the American position. Washington, suspecting that the British intended to turn his right, pass the Brandywine, gain the heights North of that stream, and cut him off, from Philadelphia, called a Council of War, who advised him to change his position to the heights North of the Brandywine. By two o'clock, on the morning of the ninth of September, the American Army was in motion; and, on the evening of that day, it was encamped on these heights.

The Brandywine rises in Pennsylvania, from two sources, the streams from which, after flowing a short distance, unite at the "Forks," and, running from West to East, twenty-two miles, falls into the Christiana, at Wilmington, and their commingled waters, about four miles below, into the Delaware. The banks of the Brandywine were thickly wooded; the flats not only covered with trees, but with an impenetrable undergrowth. The population was sparse; a large part of it Quaker; and either neutral or Tory. The flouring-mills, on the Brandywine, for the erection of which its great water-power was first employed, made it well-known, throughout the Colonies and in Europe.

On the evening of the ninth of September, Howe advanced, in two columns—his right commanded by Knyphausen, encamped at New Garden; and his left, led by Cornwallis, at Hockessin Meeting-house—and, early on the tenth, they united at Kennett-square. The Brandywine alone separated them from the American Army, about seven miles distant; and a battle, sought by Howe and not declined by Washington, was imminent.

Of the several fords of the Brandywine, Chadd's, on the direct road to Philadelphia, and about twelve miles from Wilmington, is the principal. As Washington expected the attack, with their greatest force, at this ford, he made it the centre of his position, and stationed, there, Wayne's, Muhlenburg's, and Weedon's Brigades, and Maxwell's Light-infantry. An eminence, immediately above the Ford, was fortified and held by Wayne's and Proctor's artillery. Greene's Division, with Washington, in person, posted on the heights in the rear, formed the reserve, to aid the wings, if required. The right wing, commanded by Sullivan, consisting of the Brigades of Stephens, Sterling, and Sullivan, was advanced up the river, and its light troops and videttes to the "Forks." The left wing, Pennsylvania Militia, under General Armstrong, was posted a mile and a half below Chadd's-ford, to prevent the crossing of the enemy, there.

Early on the morning of the eleventh of September, a great column of British moved to Chadd's-ford, partially hidden by a piece of woods, and supposed to be their main body. It soon appeared, by a sharp firing of small arms, that Maxwell's Infantry, on the same side of the creek, were engaged with the enemy. Maxwell was soon driven over; but they did not follow. They halted and seemed to be reconnoitering. A heavy cannonade began, at ten o'clock. Knyphausen made frequent movements towards crossing, in truth only feints, which brought on as many skirmishes with Maxwell's light-troops, who continually crossed to engage them. There was much thundering

of cannon, but no vigorous onset.

About noon, came a message from Sullivan, that the British, with a large train of artillery, were moving up the Lancaster-road, to cross the upper fords, Trimble's and Jeffrie's, and turn the right flank of the Americans. Washington at once ordered Sullivan to cross the Brandywine and attack Cornwallis, and Greene's Division to cross at Chadd's-ford, to attack Knyphausen. But this bold movement, by the fault or misfortune of Sullivan, was defeated. Assured, by a Militia Major, that there were no British troops at the upper fords, Sullivan, by a second express, so reported; and Washington, believing that not Knyphausen alone, but the whole British Army, was opposite Chadd's-ford, countermanded his order to cross. A heavy fog hid the movements of the enemy; but uncertainty was soon ended by Thomas Cheyney, who rode up and solemnly assured Washington that the British were on the East side of the river, in great force, and rapidly advancing. The reports of Colonels Bland and Ross, soon after, confirmed this intelligence. It was a repetition of the Long Island stratagem. Knyphausen's movement was a feint. The main body of the British, under Cornwallis, with Howe in person, had made a circuit of seventeen miles; crossed the Brandywine, at its upper fords; and was at Birmingham Meeting-house, two miles in Sullivan's rear.

Sullivan was at once ordered to meet the advancing foe—his Brigades to engage as they arrived on the ground;—Wayne, to keep Knyphausen in check; and Greene, with the reserve, to aid wherever required. La Fayette asked and was permitted to join Sullivan. In consequence of this delay, Sullivan could not be reinforced before he was forced to retreat.—*Writings of Washington*, v., 57.

The time lost in sending intelligence and issuing orders, gave Cornwallis opportunity to choose his ground. A foolish point of etiquette caused further delay. Stephens's Division accidentally formed to the right of Sullivan's, taking rank of him; and Sullivan, at this critical moment, made a circuit to get to the right of Sterling. While this was doing, Cornwallis, at half-past four o'clock, P.M., advanced, in perfect order, and opened a brisk fire. After obstinate resistance, the Americans were broken, and the British, pursuing, were entangled in a wood. Here, La Fayette, while rallying the Americans, was wounded in the leg with a musket-ball. The Americans made a stand on a height North of Dillworth's, but were forced to retreat again, with heavy loss.

Knyphausen essayed to cross, but was vigorously resisted by Wayne, with Proctor's artillery; and Maxwell and Greene, about to co-operate with them, were ordered to succor the right

wing, then in great peril, and marched, with astonishing rapidity, five miles in less than fifty minutes, arriving too late to avert defeat, but in time to protect the broken masses they met, in full flight. Opening his ranks, from time to time, to let the fugitives pass through, Greene covered their retreat by a quick and well-directed fire from his field-pieces. Greene's great stand was made five miles from Dillworth's, at a place pointed out to him by Washington, when previously reconnoitering. Weedon's Brigade was in a narrow defile, flanked by woods, and commanding the road; and Greene, with Muhlenburg's Brigade, was in the road. Their resistance was desperate, the fight having been chiefly with the bayonet. The British were checked; and Greene gradually drew off the whole Division, in the face of the enemy. His gallant stand protected Wayne, also, who withstood, till night, Knyphausen, who was then too weary to pursue.

The road to Chester was covered with fugitives; and the confusion was terrific. La Fayette posted a guard at the bridge over Chester-creek, and stopped further flight; and Washington and Greene, soon after arriving, order was, in a degree, restored, and the Army posted behind Chester, for the night.

The battle was fought twenty-one miles from Philadelphia. Dismay spread around; people fled from their houses; and Congress adjourned to York, having clothed Washington with dictatorial powers.

Brigadier-general Deborre, in the awkward change of line, caused by the before-mentioned mistake of Stephens's Division getting to the right of Sullivan's, was the first to move off, and without orders. Congress suspended him, and ordered an inquiry into his conduct, Thereupon, he resigned and embarked for France, saying, that, "if the Americans chose to run, he could "not help it."

The loss of the Americans was three hundred killed, six hundred wounded, and between three hundred and four hundred prisoners, most of them being the wounded. The British lost less than one hundred killed, and had between three hundred and four hundred wounded.* This battle was fought by Washington, like that of Brooklyn, because the people required it; and, in both cases, it was a less evil to lose the battle than not to fight it.

Howe remained on the battle-field and in its vicinity till the twenty-sixth, when he occupied Philadelphia, Washington having previously offered battle, which was prevented by a storm.

The success at Brandywine was barren of advantage to the British, except the capture of the

* The baggage was saved, having been sent off before the battle; and the only loss was six or seven guns and the blankets which were on the men's backs.

forts on Mud Island and at Red Bank, which was, soon after, effected.

General Howe has been much praised for the skill of his movements, after landing his army at the head of Chesapeake-bay. Washington displayed equal ability, in the disposition of his troops, by which the rapid advance of the British was prevented, so that Howe was a month in marching from Elk to Philadelphia. The turning of the flank of the American Army, in the Battle of Brandywine, was no such feat of strategy as to merit the encomiums it has received, but not unusual, and, indeed, so obvious as to suggest itself even to military men of ordinary abilities, whenever practicable. Its success is accounted for, without disparaging the military talent of Washington, by the inferiority of the Americans, in number, discipline, and equipment; in the difficulty of obtaining the intelligence of the enemy's movements, by reason of the country being densely wooded and of many of its inhabitants being neutral or tory; and in the prevalence of a dense fog. If there was want of due vigilance, it was in General Sullivan. If any person is disposed to exalt Howe, at the expence of Washington, let him remember that, five days after his defeat at Brandywine, the latter collected and re-formed his dispersed troops, and offered Howe battle, which was prevented by a storm, and, afterwards, under great difficulty and discouragement, presented a firm front to the enemy, elated by victory.

The British plan of campaign, for 1777, was ably devised, and complete success of their cause anticipated, should it be executed. Burgoyne was to invade New York, from Canada; march to Albany; be joined by Clinton, from the City of New York; and then take and hold the line of the Hudson, thus severing the New England from the Middle States. Howe was to capture Philadelphia; and this severance of the Colonies, with the capture of their metropolis and the seat of the rebel Congress, would be followed by the submission of the insurgent Colonies. Howe captured and held Philadelphia; but Burgoyne surrendered his army at Saratoga, in October; and the partial success of this plan of campaign profited little.

Washington assumed and maintained position in the vicinity of Philadelphia, cooping Howe within it and his lines a short distance from it, and surprising a body of his troops, posted at Germantown—almost winning a victory. Washington, attacking the British foraging-parties, often successfully, and so protecting the country around Philadelphia, kept the field, until December, when the coldness of the weather compelled him to retire to his Winter-quarters, at Valley Forge, sixteen miles from that city.

In what manner did the British Commander-in-

chief pass the Winter of 1777-8, in Philadelphia? A British historian shall answer this question. These are his words: "The Winter was spent in dissipation, of every kind, but, particularly, in the frenzy of gaming, which was not only permitted by the General, but sanctioned by his own daily practice and example. Many were entirely ruined, and obliged to sell their commissions; because, instead of pursuing Washington and compelling him to fight or surrender, General Howe suffered his gallant and active troops to waste the Winter, in idleness, in Philadelphia."* Further, this historian tells that "the hostile Armies passed the severity of the Winter, in great tranquility, within a few miles of each other." In the Spring of 1778, Howe, at his own request, was superseded in command by Sir Henry Clinton. The historian we have cited, tells us, in style magniloquent, that General Howe's officers, "their affection won by his agreeable manners and indulgence, viewing his exploits and services through the partial medium of attachment, attributed to their greater merit than has been allowed them by the vigorous scrutiny of unbiassed judgment. In testimony of their estimation of him, some of his officers gave, in his honor, when about to resign, a festival they called 'Mesehienza.'† It was of miscellaneous character, and partook of Roman spectacles, on the return of victorious Generals to their grateful country. The General marched through the Army, under two triumphal arches; on the top of each of them was the figure of Fame, decked with stars, blowing from her trumpet, in letters of light, *Les Lauriers sont immortels*."‡ Some of the bystanders, whose fancies had not been sublimed into the regions of romance, and who, undazzled by this splendid spectacle, suffered their memories to recall and their judgments to appreciate actual performances, wondered where, when, and how these immortal laurels had been earned.§ The most imposing part of this spectacle was a tournament—Knights of the Blended Rose and Bleeding Heart tilted, in pasteboard and bespangled armor, with blunted lances, in the presence of fourteen ladies, in Asiatic costume, wearing the colors of their Knights. The richness and variety of the dresses of the Knights and their Squires, their horses' trappings and caparisons, their mottoes and devices, and their feats of arms surpassed the expectations of the beholders.¶ The victorious Knights, I have read, elsewhere, received their prizes from the Queen of Beauty, Miss Shippen, afterwards

* Bissett's *History of the Reign of George III.*, i., 435.

† This pageant was so termed because it is a melange, a sort of olla-podrida.

‡ Bissett's *History*, i., 481, 482.

§ Moore's *Diary of the Revolution*, ii., 52-54.

the wife of Benedict Arnold.

How passed the Winter, at Valley Forge? Scantly supplied with provisions—more than once they were without food:—three thousand, nine hundred, and eighty-ninemen were reported unfit for duty, for want of clothes; and scarcely one of these had a pair of shoes: putrid fever carried off hundreds, in the ill-found hospitals; so that out of an army of seventeen thousand men, but five thousand were reported, from time to time, through the Winter, as effective.* Deep snows covered the earth, during this Winter. These privations and sufferings were borne with fortitude, by our brave soldiers. May we, in like circumstances, emulate the example of these noble men, and cherish the warmest admiration and gratitude for them.

With pride for my country, I present in contrast the Winter-quarters at Philadelphia and Valley Forge.

Sir Henry Clinton lingered in Philadelphia, till June, 1778, when he evacuated it; and, barely escaping defeat, at Monmouth, effected his retreat to New York, with the loss of two thousand men, by casualties and desertion.

I picture to myself the battlefield of Brandywine—a prominent figure, there, is an officer, a youth of twenty years, in the hottest of the fight. He is striving to rally the broken ranks of Sullivan's Division: he is wounded; but does not quit the field, till the retreat of our defeated army is accomplished—this youthful officer is Gilbert Motiere La Fayette. To trace his life, so full of romantic incidents, would be beside my subject. Loved, trusted, and appreciated by Washington, in his independent command, in Virginia, he displayed superior military talent; and, by his energy and activity, combined with great caution and sound judgment, he outgeneraled Cornwallis, who had insolently threatened "he would crush this boy." He no more crushed the boy "than he bagged the fox." La Fayette closed his services to our country by a brilliant exploit. He led the American party who stormed one of the advanced redoubts of the British lines, at the Siege of Yorktown, while a French party, under de Viomenil, carried the other. In 1784, he bade, as he supposed, a final farewell to the United States. A Committee of Congress received it, and expressed, in glowing language, their appreciation of his character and sense of his services. La Fayette ended his farewell with these memorable words:

"May this immense temple of freedom ever stand a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed, a sanctuary for the rights of mankind; and may these happy United States attain that complete splendor and prosperity

"which will illustrate the blessings of their Government and, for ages to come, rejoice the souls of its founders."

This prayer, so solemn, so fervid, so sincere I trust was heard; and, I trust the hope cherished of the future grandeur and prosperity of our country, will be realized.

The name of La Fayette has passed, and is passing, down the stream of time, associated, indissolubly—rare honor—with the venerated name of Washington.

II.—A MILITARY MEMOIR OF WILLIAM MAHONE, A MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY.

By GENERAL J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.

[In our number for June, 1870, [Second Series, Volume VII, Pages 399-406] we very unwillingly published, under protest and only because of what was insisted on, by its author, as a "bargain," an elaborate paper bearing the title which appears at the head of this article; and we very distinctly set forth, in a foot-note which accompanied the paper, the reasons which had induced us to object to its appearance in our pages.

It seems that others besides ourself have also considered the paper objectionable. General Early, especially, as soon as his attention was called to it, opened a correspondence with General Mahone concerning passages in it which were peculiarly obnoxious to himself and, as he conceived, unjust in their allusions to others who are no longer living; General Wilcox addressed a similar letter to ourself; and General Mahone, as soon as he had read the paper, recognized the impropriety of those portions of it to which objections had been raised, and promptly requested General de Peyster to strike out every unkind word, concerning others, which had appeared in it, and to re-produce it, *in that corrected form*, in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, in order that those who had seen the objectionable paper might also read it in its more satisfactory form. The *Memoir*, thus stripped of its more obnoxious features, in its new form, was approved by both General Mahone and General Early; and at the request of the former—General de Peyster having subsequently concurred in that request, in a note to ourself—we have added a sheet to the usual number, making eighty instead of sixty-four pages, and given a place to the *revised* paper, in this number, without encroaching on the space which legitimately belongs to our readers, for other purposes.

At the request of General Early, and for the purpose of making the record complete, we also make room for the published correspondence, on this subject, between that distinguished soldier and General Mahone, together with a letter from the former, addressed to ourself, in which, he defends himself from the aspersions contained in General de Peyster's original publication.

The *Memoir*, itself, which follows the correspondence and accompanying letter from General Early, is presented, as we have said, in extra pages; and as those portions of the original paper to which we objected, and which produced the dissatisfaction, elsewhere, have been carefully eliminated by the learned author himself, and the *Memoir*, thus corrected, has been approved both by General Mahone and General Early, it will not be without value to those who shall, hereafter, seek the truth of the events, in the recent history of the Republic, which it now so authoritatively describes.

We are free to admit that the unpleasant circumstances which have followed the publication of this *Memoir*, in its original form, have not been without interest to ourself; and that we are not entirely disinterested in the result of those subsequent disagreements, elsewhere, which is now placed before our readers. We objected to the *Memoir*, as originally presented by General de Peyster, for reasons which were satisfactory to ourself; and we published it, in

* Marshall's *Life of Washington*, iii., 374, 375.

that objectionable form—accompanied, however, with a clearly-defined exposition of our own views of its demerits—only because of what was insisted on as a “bargain,” and at the expense of those friendly relations with its able author which, for many years, it had been our pleasure to enjoy. Having thus, as we supposed, finally, disposed of the matter, our readers may readily understand his satisfaction with which, months after, we saw our judgment of the *Memoir* confirmed by the entirely independent action of those who, of all others, were best qualified to decide the questions which had already arisen between the author and ourself; and that satisfaction was unsummed when the evidence of that confirmation of our original adverse judgment, in the form of an eliminated copy of the *Memoir*, accompanied with a note from its distinguished subject, concurred in by its learned author, requesting the publication of that corrected paper in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, was handed to our workmen, to be perpetuated in print.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

I.

LETTER FROM GENERAL EARLY TO THE
EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA, July 15, 1871.

IR. EDITOR :

As the *Memoir*, referred to in the accompanying correspondence, was published in your journal, you will confer a favor upon me by publishing the said correspondence, as well as the following comments upon the original *Memoir*, which, I must say, are made with no intention or desire of re-opening the question between General Mahone and myself, but simply in justice to myself, and with the view of correctly stating the matters referred to. The question has existed between General Mahone and myself, regard as definitely settled by the correspondence between us.

I am sure that no one of his former comrades in the Army has felt disposed to underrate the services performed by General Mahone; but, when the pretension is so ostentatiously made by his biographer, that “It is very doubtful if, in the ranks of the rebellion, there was another single man who did so much damage to the North, as ‘little Mahone;’” and when it is further said that “We shall see that, from this time, forward, it was a happy thing for the North, that Mahone had to fight as hard, if not harder, against the inertia and incompetency of his superiors, than he did against the North or Union,” there is no principle of good taste or propriety which requires that such claims should pass unnoticed.

It is not necessary, for the vindication of his name, that others should be depreciated; and the statement that he “had to fight as hard, if not harder, against the inertia and incompetency of his superiors, than he did against the North or Union,” is a sweeping denunciation of all who were above him, from the commanding General, down. The justice of any such claim cannot be admitted; and this statement, by his Northern biographer, is a curious commentary upon the Commanders and the rank and file

of the Army to which he himself belonged. If there was such general inertia and incompetency among the Confederate Commanders, it is a little singular that the ability of one man, who never rose above the rank of a Division Commander, was able, so long, to baffle the immense hordes which were brought against the small band of Confederates, who were badly clothed, badly fed, poorly equipped, and, if the author be correct, worse officered.

In regard to myself, it would be a very difficult task to show how General Mahone's daring was ever curbed by my inertia, or his conceit by my incompetency, during the short period when he was under my command. The statement that “Jubal Early was ‘always hesitating whether to fight or not: he ‘would ride up and down his line, from fifteen ‘to twenty minutes, debating whether or no to ‘begin,’ from whatever source it may have emanated, is utterly without foundation. No mortal man ever witnessed that spectacle; and I can confidently appeal to the Reports of my commanding officers, beginning with General Beauregard and ending with General Lee, and also to the personal knowledge and observation of those who had an opportunity of seeing me, in action, to bear me out, in the unqualified contradiction of the statement referred to.

I may have committed errors of judgment, as a military commander; but, certainly, reluctance, hesitation, or delay in fighting, when occasion offered, cannot be truthfully charged against me. Up to the time I was assigned to the command of General A. P. Hill's Corps, when, for the first and only time, General Mahone served under me or in conjunction with me, my command, whether consisting of Brigade or Division, had been actively engaged in all the great battles at which I was present, except Malvern Hill; and it had never sustained a repulse nor met with a disaster, save and except that which befell two of my Brigades at Rappahannock-station, on the seventh of November, 1863, and for which I was in no wise responsible. On more than one occasion, as will appear by the official Reports of those above me, the prompt and timely movement of my command had turned the tide of battle, when portions of our little Army were overwhelmed by numbers.

While General Mahone was under my command, to wit, from the eighth to the twenty-first of May, 1864, the only occasions when there were any opportunities for offensive movements were on the afternoon of the eighth, when, as Hill's Corps moved from the Wilderness, Mahone's Division, being in front, encountered and skirmished with a force of the enemy, near Todd's-tavern; and, before the other Divisions could be brought up, the enemy made his

escape and fell back on the main force: on the tenth, when a portion of Hancock's Corps had got around our left, West of Spotsylvania Court-house, and I moved, with Heth's Division, around and across the Po, to attack and drive the enemy back, while Mahone's Division was moved up to the Po, on our left, to guard the crossings and co-operate with Hill's Division. I did attack the enemy, with Heth's Division, and drive him back, and Mahone, who was on the opposite side of the enemy to that from which my attack was made, did not become engaged: on the twelfth, when a movement was made in front of our works, near Spotsylvania Court-house, by General Lee's order, of which I will speak presently: and, on several occasions thereafter, when portions of my troops were sent to the front, simply to reconnoitre and ascertain the movement of the enemy to our right. Two of these reconnoissances, I believe, were conducted by General Mahone, with a portion of his Division. At all other times, we were strictly on the defensive, in accordance with the policy and express orders of General Lee.

In regard to the affair at Bristow Station, so far from being in Warren's rear, at that time, I was coming up with the remainder of Ewell's Corps, in Hill's rear, when the affair occurred between two of his Brigades and Warren's Corps. I did, subsequently, attempt to make a movement on Warren's flank; but it was a very difficult movement to make, on account of the nature of the ground, and night come on before the arrangements could be completed, which had been delayed by circumstances which it is not necessary to state, and for which I was not at all responsible.

I had nothing to do with suggesting the bridge-head across the Rappahannock. My only agency in the matter was in sending details to the Engineers in charge of the work and in alternating with General Edward Johnson, in furnishing a force to hold the bridge-head and picket, in front, the officer commanding that force always reporting to General Ewell for orders. The bridge-head was established and held by order of General Lee; and the fault in it was, that it had not been made strong enough to check an assault and prevent surprise. It happened that one of my Brigades was on duty when the enemy advanced, and another was passed over to its support. The position was carried by surprise, after dark, by an overwhelming force; and it was out of my power to render any assistance, because a deep pond, on the Rappahannock, intervened; and there was but one narrow bridge.

In regard to the alleged daring movement at Spotsylvania Court-house, for which General Mahone is given credit, and when, it is said, he

was not adequately nor promptly supported, I will say that he neither originated nor suggested any movement whatever, at that place, that I am aware of. On the twelfth of May, when Ewell's line was broken in the centre, General Lee ordered a flank movement, to begin from my front, with two Brigades, for the purpose of relieving Ewell and enabling him to regain the lost portion of his line. Lane's Brigade of Wilcox's Division, and Mahone's Brigade of Anderson's Division, Mahone being then acting Commander of the Division, were selected for the purpose of beginning the movement, which was to have been supported by the rest of the Corps. These Brigades started, Lane's being in front; and, just at that time, Burnside's Corps moved up, to attack a salient on my front. Lane's Brigade became very seriously engaged with Burnside's Corps, and Mahone's Brigade, under Colonel Weisiger but slightly so. This attack had not been anticipated by us; and our whole energies had to be directed to its repulse, which was accomplished by a heavy fire of Infantry, from the part of the line assailed, and by an artillery fire, from other parts of the line. To this result, the attack of Lane's Brigade contributed very materially. This affair frustrated the proposed movement for the relief of Ewell; and General Mahone did not accompany, nor propose to accompany, his Brigade, in the movement. Subsequently, a renewal of the flank movement was ordered; and Cooke's Brigade, of Heth's Division, was selected to replace Lane's Brigade and move in conjunction with Mahone's. This movement was finally abandoned, because Generals Cooke and Mahone were reluctant to make it, on account of the difficulties of the ground and the existence of a fortified line of the enemy, all along our front, to which their right flanks would have been exposed. This last statement is not made for the purpose of casting censure upon Generals Cooke and Mahone, but to show how little warrant there was for the author's statement in regard to the alleged daring movement. The proposed movement certainly would have been a most hazardous one, as I thought myself, at the time.

I have thus noticed all the statements in the original *Memoir* which affect me, personally. These statements are now expunged from the revised *Memoir*, which General Mahone has caused to be prepared; but, as they have been given to the world, in the original *Memoir*, I deem it important to the truth of history to state the actual facts, for the correctness of which, as stated by me, I challenge contradiction.

Without intending any personal application of the remark, I must say that it is but too frequent for biographers, even Southern biographers, of men who bore conspicuous parts in the War, to

attempt to pull down the reputation of others, in order to build up those of their especial favorites. The interest and reputation of no man require this. When a man has received credit for all *he* has done, he has received all *he* is entitled to. The shortcomings of others can avail him nothing. There was enough glory won by our Army, in the four years' struggle against such tremendous odds, for each one to have his full share and be content therewith.

I know I had my faults and defects. I have never claimed that the mantle of any one had fallen on me. Whatever merit I had was mine, as were my faults and imperfections. All I claim, is that I did my duty, honestly, faithfully, to the very best of my ability. Up to the time of my being detached from the Army of Northern Virginia, I can safely say that I had fought in more general engagements than any General Officer of that Army; and I had never suffered a repulse of my own command, even in the most adverse of our battles, though I had been once wounded and compelled to retire from the field while my men were driving the enemy. I can, with justifiable pride, say that I had had the honor of enjoying the confidence of my commanding officers. In my Valley Campaign, in the waning days of the Confederacy, and when opposed to odds no other Commander had encountered in a continuous Campaign, I met with reverses. To this day, there are many who have never understood the real causes of these reverses; and hence I have been judged harshly. Falsehoods have been anonymously circulated to my prejudice, and flippant writers, utterly unacquainted with the facts, have presumed to pronounce their judgments; but I have never yet seen or heard of the first man who was willing to assume the responsibility of one single one of the false or prejudicial statements. The injustice done me, however, has never tempted me to shift off the responsibility upon the shoulders of others; and I have the proud consciousness of never, in all that I have written and published, having said, or intended to say, anything to the prejudice of any of my comrades; nor have I procured anything to be so written and published.

General Lee or General Jackson—perhaps others—in my position, in the Valley, I have no doubt, would have accomplished more than I did, if it had been possible to accomplish more against such odds. But it is not fair to compare me with General Lee and General Jackson. The world has produced few such men as they were; and I am certainly not one of them.

If there was any other who could have done better than I did, it was a pity he was not discovered sooner.

Respectfully,

J. A. EARLY.

II.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GENERALS J. A. EARLY AND GENERAL WILLIAM MAHONE.

EXCHANGE HOTEL, RICHMOND,
March 21st, 1871.

GENERAL:

In *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* for June, 1870, published at Morrisania, New York, there is a Memoir of yourself, by General J. Watts de Peyster, late of the United States Army,* which has recently been brought to my notice. In a note to the said Memoir there is the following statement by the author;

"This biographical sketch was submitted to Major-general William Mahone, and approved by him, as to matters in which he alone could decide. It was corrected by the General's friend, Colonel S. Basset French; and has been verified, in a great measure, by Northern histories, statements, and Reports. The paragraphs subsequently added by the author, are few and short, and simply present his views in regard to the probable effect of certain movements, predicated on a Northern judgment, founded on Northern statements, etc."

In addition to this, in the body of the Memoir, the author has undertaken to quote language as yours, in regard to the conduct of several Confederate officers with whom you came in contact, and in reference to important events that happened during the progress of the war.

If, therefore, the author is correct in the statement that the Memoir was submitted to and approved by you and in his quotation of your language, the conclusion is inevitable that you are the responsible author of the statements contained in the said Memoir and of the very grave imputations upon other Confederate officers conveyed by the language attributed to you. So grave are some of these imputations, that the editor of *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* has thought proper, in a note, to make an excuse for the appearance of the Memoir in his journal, and to record his dissent to the spirit in which it was written and to the condemnation of whole classes of officers, and, especially, to the "impeachment of motives in General Lee as a commander, which," the Editor says, "we conceive to be gravely unjust, and unworthy of a place in our pages."

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is of very high authority in regard to historical questions affecting the States, separately, and the United States;

* This is a mistake. General de Peyster's services have been wholly in the Militia of the State of New York, in time of Peace. His ill-health kept him from the field, during the recent War of Secession.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

and in the future is likely to be resorted to by all careful historical writers on our war, especially in regard to disputed or obscure points; and it is conducted in a spirit of great liberality and impartiality. This renders it important that erroneous statements made in the columns of the said Magazine, upon the alleged authority of officers of standing and position in the Confederate army, should either be disavowed, if the claim of authority is unfounded, or be corrected, if that authority actually exists. I therefore call your attention to the following statements in said Memoir which affect me, personally.

After giving an account of the part you bore in the battle of Fredericksburg, (Dec. 13, 1862,) the author of the Memoir says:

"We shall see that, from this time forward, it was a happy thing for the North, that Mahone had to fight as hard, if not harder, against the inertia and incompetency of his superiors, that he did against the North or Union."

Following this, closely, on the very next page, in connection with the battle of Chancellorsville and the operations, at and above Fredericksburg, against Sedgwick, there is this paragraph:

"The writer had formed an entirely different opinion of Early from that entertained by Mshoue. The former, however, had to judge from the statements of others; while Mahone knew him intimately and had served under him. Moreover, Mahone's judgment was justified by the proverb, in regard to Early, at West Point, 'that, although his name was Early, he was always late.' Mahone said that 'he did not like to fight under him; that Jubal Early was always hesitating whether to fight or not; he would ride up and down his lines, from fifteen or twenty minutes, debating whether or no to begin; whereas the battle was to be lost or won, meanwhile.'"

I have no disposition to complain of the puerility of the very stale play upon my name, by whomsoever committed; and the statement that you knew me intimately, it is to be presumed, is entirely the author's, as you know that our acquaintance, prior to the eighth of May, 1864, when I was temporarily assigned to the command of Hill's Corps, was of the most casual and limited character, being barely sufficient to enable us to recognize each other; and that we had, before that time, never fought in conjunction or near to each other, though we had been on the same fields. The official relations between us began on the eighth of May, 1864, and ended on the twenty-first of the same month, at Spotsylvania C. H., when General Hill returned to his Corps. The language, therefore, in the latter part of this paragraph, given as your's, if it was ever uttered by you, can only apply to the per-

iod of time between the eighth and twenty-first of May, 1864, when, on the march from the Wilderness and during the operations around Spotsylvania Court-house, you were under my command, as one of the Division Commanders in Hill's Corps; as you will recollect that we did not meet again during the war.

I find the following statement in regard to the affair at Bristow Station, in October, 1863:

"As is well known, Warren was left alone, behind, with his single (Second) Corps. With characteristic decision, he seized upon a deep cutting in the railroad; concealed a large body of his troops behind a railroad embankment; and received Hill with such a withering fire as drove the assailants back, with severe loss, including a Battery. 'Warren did well.' said Mahone—high praise from such a man—and we got severely hurt.' Early was, in reality, in Warren's rear; and, if he had been early in the field, might, in co-operation with Hill, have nipped and crushed the Fifth Corps. This is a mere opinion, it is true, but, if any man is competent to judge of such operations, Mahone is. This was on the fourteenth of October, 1863."

You will observe that this makes you responsible for the statement that I was in Warren's rear, when the affair occurred at Bristow Station, between two of Hill's Brigades and Warren's Corps; and that the opinion that, if I had been early in the field, I might, in co-operation with Hill, have nipped and crushed the Fifth Corps, is given as your's—the statement of fact being not at all in accordance with the reality.

I find also this statement in regard to the affair at Rappahannock-station, on the seventh of November, 1863:

"On the seventh of November, occurred the brilliant affair, for us, of Rappahannock-station. The building of a bridgehead, on the North bank, was Early's idea. Mahone advised, strongly, against it, and pronounced the position a 'man-trap;' he foretold the result of Russell's brilliant attack and 'gobbling' almost the entire force, within the work—*sixteen hundred* prisoners, besides killed and wounded. Mahone was at Glaisel's House, to the left of the bridge, up the river, and witnessed the whole affair, which must have aroused his indignation, at such a disregard, not only of military principles but of common sense. Thence, he fell back to the Hall House, beyond Brandy-station, on the Orange and Alexandria railroad. 'Then and there,' said he, 'you could have seen the result of my discipline,' etc."

Again; this statement, that the idea of a bridge-head across the Rappahannock was

mine—although General Lee, the Commander-in-chief of the Army, and General Ewell, my Corps Commander, were both present with the Army, and the *tete-de-pont* was established and occupied by the former—appears to have the sanction of your authority.

I find, also, the following statement in regard to the operations at Spotsylvania Court-house, when you were under my immediate command:

"As the Army of Northern Virginia evacuated the Wilderness, Mahone brought up the rear. At Spotsylvania Court-house, he made one of those daring movements, peculiar to Jackson and himself, striking in flank the Union attack upon the angle of the rebel works. As usual, he was not adequately nor promptly supported; and the attack, though daring, was not as resultive as it would otherwise have been. This, however, does not detract from the conceptive ability nor daring of the attempt."

This statement is so utterly variant from the fact, as known to thousands of Confederate officers and soldiers, still surviving, that I cannot presume, for a moment, that it has emanated from you; but, as it had before been stated that the Memoir had been submitted to and approved by you, and as it is stated that, in your alleged daring movement, "striking in flank the Union attack upon the angle of the rebel works," you were "not adequately nor promptly supported," thereby conveying a grave censure on myself, who was your immediate commander, I deem it proper to call your attention to it.

The direct statement in regard to my habitual conduct in action, made in language claimed to be your own, and the other statements in regard to me, when you were not acting in conjunction with me, and had no adequate means of knowing the facts, but which, also, are made to appear as furnished by you, so seriously reflect on my conduct and judgment, as a military commander, that I am sure you will be ready to acknowledge my right to inquire of you, whether it is true, that the Memoir above mentioned was submitted to and approved by you before its publication, and whether the language attributed to you, therein, is yours.

I deem it alike due to yourself and all the officers affected by the comments and criticisms contained in the Memoir, that you should have the opportunity of responding to these inquiries; and I, therefore, respectfully make them, on my own behalf as well as that of others.

By an early response, you will greatly oblige,

Very respectfully,

Your ob't serv't,

General WILLIAM MAHONE.

J. A. EARLY.

HIS. MAG. VOL. X. 2.

PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA,

July 8th, 1871.

GENERAL:

I have to thank you for calling my attention to the publication, in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, referred to in your letter of the twenty-first of March, and beg to say, that the right to make the inquiries submitted is recognized and the propriety admitted.

I had not read the article in the Magazine until the copy you were kind enough to lend me was received, when I gave it careful consideration. I saw and felt the injustice which had been done yourself and other Confederate officers, by references made to both, as well as the reflection which these references turned upon me; and yet I am confident such was not the purpose of the author, as to either or any of the parties.

As the best means then open, for correcting such wrongs, I requested a republication of the article, in the Magazine, corrected as I desired—eliminated of all unkind remarks and allusions toward officers of the Confederate service—and the matter now goes to the Magazine, for such publication.

There has been delay in procuring proof copies of the article, which I have been unable to control. You now have, however, before you, a copy (with some corrections still to be made within the first sixteen pages) which, I hope, will satisfy you of my intention to rectify the injustice which has been done yourself in the matter.

When the article appeared in the *Mail*, copies of which were sent me, by the author, I did not give it proper attention: at the time, I was engrossed with important public business and only read parts of the article, but then requested a friend to ask that it should be divested of all such references as have now been expunged.

This desire, from some cause, was not accomplished, a fact with which I became, for the first time, acquainted by means of your letter and the copy of the MAGAZINE borrowed of you.

I have written thus fully, in order that you may see that it was never my intention to do you and the other Confederate officers the injustice which appears in the article.

Very Res

Your ob't serv't,

WILLIAM MAHONE.

Gen. J. A. EARLY.

LYNCHBURG, VA.

LYNCHBURG, July 11th, 1871.

GENERAL:

The action of General Bradley T. Johnson and Colonel Robert E. Withers, in conjunction with Capt. Ham. Chamberlayne, on the 4th instant, in withdrawing the previous correspondence between us, subsequent to my letter of enquiry of the 21st of March last, is accepted and confirmed by me.

Your letter of the 8th. instant, was handed to me last night, and has been read, as have also the proof-sheets of the revised copy of the Memoir, which you mention. I find that all the passages, in the original Memoir, which were personally offensive to me, have been expurgated in this revised copy; and, without indicating any opinion as to its accuracy or merit, in other respects, I will say, that the Memoir, as it now appears, in the revised copy, is unobjectionable to me in the particular above mentioned.

Respec^tfly,

Your ob^t serv^t,

J. A. EARLY.

General WILLIAM MAHONE.

III.

LETTER FROM GENERAL MAHONE TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

To the Editor of

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

SIR: In the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for June, 1870, there appeared a Memoir of me, written by General J. Watts de Peyster, to which my attention has been called by General J. A. Early.

It is due to the author and to myself to say that this publication was not at my instance; nor, so far, as I know, was it contemplated at the time of the interview which preceded it; and, moreover, I am sure that it was not the author's intention to do injustice to any one.

A copy of the paper, as originally published in the *Evening Mail*, was forwarded to me; but, being much occupied at the time, I failed to give it proper attention.

Having now carefully read the Memoir, as it appears in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, I desire its reproduction, both in justice to myself and to those to whom objectionable allusions have been made. I have to request you, therefore, to republish it in your Magazine, corrected, as shown in the annexed proof-copy, which has been revised in conformity with a request made by me of General de Peyster, forwarding me your bill for the same.

Respec^tly,

Your Ob^t Serv^t,

WM. MAHONE.

LYNCHBURG, VA.

IV.

LETTER FROM GENERAL DE PEYSTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

TIVOLI, DUCHESS-COUNTY, N. Y.

MR. HENRY B. DAWSON.

SIR: The publication of my biographical sketch of Major-general William Mahone having given rise to a correspondence with which you are already acquainted, I hereby concur with General Mahone in his request for its publication, in an amended form, in a forthcoming number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Respectfully, your ob^t Serv^t,

J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.

V.

A MILITARY MEMOIR OF WILLIAM MAHONE, A MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY.

By GENERAL J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.

Republished, in a corrected form, at his request and that of General Mahone.

"Vandamme is very valuable to me, for if ever I have to make war against the Devil, it is him I will send to. "carry it on. He alone is capable of beating the Devil."—NAPOLÉON on Vandamme—in A. DE CASSE'S *Vie de Vandamme*, i., 128.

Very often, in reading the annals of the past, a figure presents itself so opposite to that which the reader conceives should be the form and port of an individual filling the place, that he wonders if it is possible that there could have been such an actual personality, and whether the writer has not distorted facts to produce a sensational portrait. For instance, the world almost invariably associates great deeds with a grand figure. Thus we find that Guinevere wasted her goodly gifts, not on a lithe and graceful knight, who achieved his greatness by address and ability, but on "our big Lancelot," who, mounted on a congenial steed, bore down opposition by weight and momentum.

There is scarcely any doubt but that Washington's personal appearance had a great deal to do with his elevation to the command in chief of the American revolutionary armies, and gave weight to his counsels, at the head of the Government. It is well known what an impression his dignified appearance made on the French Generals, sent out to co-operate with him. Nor is it at all unlikely, judging from what has been written, Lee's physical advantages and polished manners had a very great deal to do with his reputation, especially abroad.

Shakespeare, subtle and sublime, has, on the contrary, invested the truth with robes of poetic

beauty; but still he has presented the truth; and nowhere is there a finer picture of the power of mind over matter—the might of mind mastering men through the magnificence of a man—than in the case of the famous John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury,* one of the most celebrated of English Captains who has ever glorified his country's annals. Like Field-marshal Schwerin, Frederick the Great's greatest General, and like de Gages, Spain's last great General, "his little body was all heart."

Reading Shakespeare's pen-portrait of this Talbot, at once re-called the fiery little Mahone, the subject of this Memoir.

The Scene from Henry VI. (*Act II., Scene III.*) referred to, is worthy of citation. The Countess of Auvergne, inspired by patriotic hatred, has invited Talbot to her castle, intending, as in the cases of Osceola and Abd el Kader, to betray him, and thus, by the vilest treason, free her country, France, from its greatest scourge and terror. When Talbot presents himself, she is astonished at his appearance, so utterly in contradiction to the idea she had formed of him, from his exploits. Supposing that he is in her power, the vindictive woman, disenchanted, adds extreme discourtesy to vile intended treachery; and, in despite of her ignoble nobility, exclaims:

"Is this the scourge of France?
"Is this Talbot, so much fear'd abroad,
"That with his name the mothers still their babes?
"I see report is fabulous and false:
"I thought I should have seen some Hercules,
"A second Hec or for his grim aspect
"And large proportion of his strong-knit limbs,
"Alas! this is a child a silly dwarf!
"It cannot be this weak and writhled shrimp,
"Should strike such terror to his enemies."

The manly Talbot, who has suspected treachery, laughs at her astonishment and misconception, and tells her:

"I laugh to see you ladyship so fond, (*foolish*)
"To think that you have aught but Talbot's shadow
"Whereon to practise your severity."
COUNTRESS. "Why, art not thou the man?"
TALBOT. "I am, indeed."
COUNTRESS. "Then have I substance, too."
TALBOT. "No, no, I am but a shadow of myself:
"You are deceived: my substance is not here:
"For what you see is but the smallest part
"And least proportion of humanity:
"I tell you, Madam, were the whole frame here,
"It is of such a spacious lofty pitch,
"Your roof were not sufficient to contain it."

Then he gives the pre-concerted signal, by sounding his bugle. Answering drums are heard, succeeded by a discharge of artillery. Then, through the gates, burst in by his guns, the English troops find entrance to his rescue. In these, he indicates himself as having permeated them with his military essence; and demonstrates to her that Talbot, the individual, is only the

shadow of the "Man Legion," the Talbot of renown, who, through the Briarian arms of his soldiery has filled France with moans and tears, corpses and ashes.

"How say you, Madam? are you perswaded
"That Talbot is but a shadow of himself?
"These are his substance, sinews, arms, and strength,
"With which he yoketh your rebellious necks,
"Razeth your cities and subverts your towns,
"And, in a moment, makes them desolate."

This fine Scene winds up with an exhibition of a hero's courtesy, even to a treacherous hostess. Thereupon, the baffled Countess, cringing to the magnanimous creature she would have outraged and destroyed, declares herself

———"honored
"To feast so great a warrior in my house."

Now the hero whom the writer desires to introduce to his readers, is an able, ardent and audacious soldier, of the Talbot type, whose achievements would befit a form like that of Washington, or of Thomas, or of Kleber—vast and imposing; such as the multitude admire and almost demand in a popular hero. William Mahone, however, is nothing of this sort; and the only indication of the germ within, is his clear blue eye, which fairly burns with the intensity of his will and mentality.

It may seem a curious task for a Northern man to assume, to present to the people in his section, the military record of a soldier whose whole soul was devoted to the service of the Southern Confederacy. Ability, however, wherever and however displayed in an eminent degree, is the property of our common country; and no man between the oceans, the gulf, and the lakes, is a finer illustration of the innate military capacity and adaptability of the American people than the subject of this sketch—than William Mahone, late Confederate Major general, and now President of the Norfolk and Petersburg, of the Southside, and of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroads.*

It is very doubtful if, in the ranks of the Confederacy, there was another man who did so much damage to the North, as "little Mahone." Little, indeed, is Mahone, in his physical development, but great as it was possible to be, in his conception of the true principles of war, his profound enormous energy, his prodigious activity, and his marvelous influence over his troops. Of him, it might be said, as Warner remarked of Field-marshal Schwerin, that "his little body was all heart." Indeed, he exercised an influence in no degree inferior to that of Stonewall Jackson, although more circumscribed in its sphere, but

* Born about 1873, in Shropshire, England; killed on the seventeenth of July, 1853, at Castillon, Guinne, France.

* For an admirable sketch of the civil services of William Mahone—the "leading railroad man of Virginia,"—see *Self-made men of our Times*, in *Frank Leslie's Chimney Corner*, pp. 208-210 of the issue of the nineteenth of February, 1899.

superior in that Mahone survived Jackson, to fight, with undiminished ardor, down to the last supreme hour of the War—until the last shot was fired in defence of the flag which he recognized as the object of his mistaken but fervent idolatry.

To give an idea of what one man can do, in command of men transfused by him with his manhood, it is sufficient to state that Mahone, with only eight thousand bayonets, occasioned to the North, in the campaign which commenced on the Rapidan, on the fifth of May, 1864, and ended on the Appomattox, on the ninth of April, 1865, a loss of six thousand, seven hundred, and four men, in prisoners, and eleven thousand casualties, in dead, wounded, and missing, besides capturing fifteen pieces of artillery and forty-two battle-flags or stands of colors. These statistics were gathered not only from his own but from our Reports, by Mahone.

The following is the printed statement of his remarkable succession of exploits, due solely to the dash and capacity of one man :

[From *The Daily Petersburg Express*, 20th March, 1865.]

Operations of Mahone's Division, in 1864.

"We have been favored with the following figures from the official Report of Major-general William Mahone, giving the operations of his Division, during the Campaign of 1864, from the time he assumed command down to the Battle of Burgess Mill (known at the North as Hatcher's run), on the twenty seventh of October. We publish them to show the public what this Command has accomplished. In appreciation of their services, guided by a wonderful genius and energy, which always ensured success, the citizens of Petersburg testified their gratitude by presenting their leader with a beautiful sword—fit emblem of the times.

The Command has captured :

"Prisoners,	6,704
"Pieces of artillery,	15
"Colors,	42
"Small arms,	4,867
"Horses,	235
"Wagons and ambulances, . .	49
"Slaves,	537

"According to the enemy's own statements, to correct which particular care has been taken, the losses, in killed and wounded, in those Commands which, at different times, fought Mahone's Division, summed up eleven thousand.

"By these figures—and, for certain reasons, it is believed that the loss, in killed and wounded, is underestimated—it will be seen that, during the Spring and Summer campaigns of last

year, General Mahone inflicted on the enemy a loss of seventeen thousand, seven hundred, and four men.

"The loss of his own Command, during this time, in killed, wounded, and missing, was five thousand, two hundred, and forty-eight."

What is more, with his depleted Division, not over fifteen hundred men, all told, he alone frustrated the success of the mine explosion, backed by a mass of forty thousand to fifty thousand Union troops—a fearful aggregation of troops, competent to anything, if they had been determinedly and scientifically "put in"—a force and mass, if properly applied, sufficient to have carried Petersburg, at a blow, and have crushed that portion of Lee's army, in their front, into the nothingness of slaughter, capture, and dispersion. There was nothing between Mead's forty thousand to fifty thousand men, but an attenuated line, until Mahone came up, two miles, to throw himself into the gap, and then, with a loss of two hundred and fifty men, to win back the captured works, with an admitted list of casualties, to us, of five thousand, two hundred, and forty, in killed, wounded, and prisoners—twenty-one times his own list of casualties. This operation will be explained more at length, in its appropriate place.

The first time that the writer ever met with General Mahone, was in the Spring of 1869. He found him quite unwell, in bed; but his blue eye was full of life. He is a very small man, not weighing, perhaps, over one hundred pounds, if as much; his dark hair, streaked with grey, long and flowing down upon his shoulders. His ordinary dress would, certainly, not attract attention for its cut, care, or material. He is just as eccentric as able; and, from his description, recalled the remarks of Thiers, in regard to the intrepid Dutch General, in the service of Napoleon, Cœhorn, a descendant of the famous "Prince of Engineers," Cœhorn, whose originality of genius placed him second to none, if not first in his profession: "In his small and slender frame was one of the most fiery and energetic souls which God had ever bestowed upon a warrior. He was worthy to be executive of the impetuous will of Massena, the 'Child of Victory.'" These words are truly apposite to Mahone.

Although comparatively unknown to fame, at the North, it is exceedingly doubtful if he had his superior in the Confederate ranks. Without enjoying the same influence, he possessed almost every attribute which so greatly distinguished Stonewall Jackson. He was equally audacious and enterprising, and handled his troops, tactically, better. He was not a West Pointer; and that, doubtless, injured him. Like Washington, and Wayne, and several other military men who

have distinguished themselves, when improvised into Generals, he was a Civil Engineer, by profession, and a railroad-man.

Since the War, he has received the control of a number of Southern railroads, from which, it is said, he enjoys an income almost as great as the salary of the President of the United States.* Yet no General had a better record or prospect of a brighter career. He was equally distinguished for dash, tenacity, and ability. It is true that he never enjoyed such extensive commands as a number of Generals, better known; but whatever duty was assigned to him was fulfilled in a manner which his opponents had every reason to regret. From his first appearance on the battle-field, against us, to the close of the Rebellion, he was, perhaps, the most formidable Division-Commander whom our Generals encountered. "It was remarked to an officer in our [the Confederate] service, by several Staff-officers of General Meade, that Mahone had occasioned more trouble to the Federal Army, around Petersburg, than all of Lee's Generals combined." These, and corroborative testimony, justify Mahone's good-humored remark, that he "always liked to get hold of one of 'them'—particularly prominent, at one time, at the North, and really distinguished for his soldierly qualities—"for he was sure to 'lamm' him."

This is the just record of the impression made upon the writer, at that time. Subsequent investigations have demonstrated that this estimate was far below the real merit of the man. The remarks applied to Major-general Philip Kearny, apply with equal force to Mahone, that "he thoroughly understood men, system of fighting, discipline, and real responsibility."

General Mahone was born in Southampton, one of the most south-eastern Counties of Virginia, bordering on North Carolina; and is now (1870), about forty-three years of age. At the age of seventeen, that is, about 1844, he entered the Virginia Military Institute, at Lexington, which gave so many able officers to the Virginia Confederate line, and graduated with distinction, when he was twenty. After matriculating, he was connected, as an Instructor of Mathematics, with a school near Port Royal, in Virginia. Such a situation, however, was inconsistent with his nervous temperament; and he soon abandoned the three-legged professional chair for the surveyor's tripod, and was employed, as Engineer, on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. Subsequently, he was appointed Assistant-engineer, under General Bartlett, of the Mexican Boundary Survey. This honorable office, for

personal reasons, he declined; and was then selected to construct the Fredericksburg Plank-road, upon which the hardest fighting, at Chancellorsville, occurred, in which he participated, and upon which Stonewall Jackson fell. About the time this plank-road was finished, the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad had been determined upon. Of this work, he was appointed Chief-engineer; and it was surveyed and built under his exclusive supervision. When this road was completed, he was elected President of the Company, and managed its affairs with as much ability as he had displayed as Engineer in its location and construction. Mahone is peculiarly proud of this "road, which has been pronounced, "by both English and American engineers and "railway-managers, as embodying all the elements of a first-class work, and, in these respects, far in advance of any other in the "whole Southern country." This brings us down to the year 1861.

Mahone was, at this time, a Militia Colonel, and, no doubt, contributed to the prompt evacuation of the Navy-yard, on the twenty-first of April, 1861, and gave to the Confederates those immense stores, especially of heavy guns, which, afterwards, proved of such vital importance to them. In all his movements, he displayed as much subtlety and knowledge of men as he afterwards developed true soldiership and powers of command. By means of his railroad control, he used his stock so as to convey the idea that reinforcements were continually arriving to the Confederates, sending locomotives away, quietly, to return as noisily, blowing their whistles and ringing their bells, as if drawing after them fresh troops and supplies. This must have had its effect. If, on the other hand, a man like Mahone had been in command of that enormous depot, it is most probable that everything would have been preserved for the Union, had its abandonment become a public necessity. In the contrary event, if it had been compulsorily abandoned, not only the Navy-yard, but its arsenals, its dock-yards, and the fleet, also the adjoining towns of Norfolk and Portsmouth, would have been left no better than blackened heaps of ruins and ashes.

Virginia having seceded, on the seventeenth of April, 1861, William Mahone was one of the first four Colonels appointed under the Confederate administration of that State; the other three were Stonewall Jackson, Gilham, and P. St. John Cocke. Mahone's commission bore date the second day of May, 1861. He was then the senior Colonel in his district; and he, at once, proceeded to raise a Regiment around Norfolk, which was afterwards known as the Sixth Virginia. It was composed of a commingling of the flower of the citizens and rough-scuffs of

* *Old Dominion* (Magazine) Richmond, Va., iv., 124, 125.

the place—very hard material to manage and to lick into shape. Mahone admitted that his reputation, as a hard master or severe disciplinarian, was well merited, and that he had ample opportunity to display his qualifications, in this respect, in organizing, administering, and instructing his new Command.

In the Fall of 1861, he was made a Brigadier, a merited, and, for him, fortunate promotion.

The first important command held by Mahone, was at Drury's Bluff, or Fort Darling. It appears that, after the evacuation of Norfolk, which had been abandoned in obedience to peremptory orders of the Confederate War Department, by General Huger, and its occupation, by General Wool, on the tenth of May, 1862, Mahone's Brigade was ordered to Richmond, where it attracted the attention of every one. It was generally admitted that it was the best Brigade which had ever been seen marching through the Confederate Capital. It was better uniformed and appointed, and possessed more elasticity. It was composed of five or six Regiments, each eight hundred to one thousand strong—the Sixth, Twelfth, Sixteenth, and Forty-first Virginia, Thirtieth North Carolina, and Third Alabama. Mahone said that his experience had taught him that gentlemen did not make good privates—their physique was bad, and they could not be tempered to discipline. His idea of the best stuff for soldiers appeared to agree with that of the Swiss officer, in the Neapolitan service, as expressed to the writer, in 1852: "*Bon 'soldat, faut d'etre un peu abruti*"—"To make a good private soldier, a man must be something of a brute." In other words: "A soldier must not be so independently intelligent that he cannot be converted into a perfect machine. A good private soldier should have, or be permitted to have, no independent thought." Mahone's idea was exactly Schiller's opinion. This may be true of the Southern war-personal, but did not hold good as to the Northern, 1861-5, and as to the Prussian, 1866-1870.

But to resume: Jefferson Davis was so much impressed with the effects of Mahone's discipline, that this, in connection with his previous acknowledged reputation, as a Civil Engineer, induced him to assign Mahone to the supreme command of Fort Darling. His jurisdiction embraced everything, naval as well as military; consequently, if the repulse of our gunboats, on the fifteenth of May, 1861, (in which the *Galena* was so badly damaged, and lost so heavily), deserves high praise, at least some credit belongs to Mahone; and yet he received none. This success has never, in any measure, been attributed to him; nevertheless, he it was who commanded, on the occasion. His Brigade, from Petersburg, lined the shore and support-

ed the works. The batteries, which did the fighting, were manned by a Company of "Home Guards," commanded by the owner of the farm on which Fort Drury had been established, whose battery did the work, and of whose conduct, Mahone speaks in the highest terms. The other batteries were manned by sailors and Marines, which were under the immediate command of a naval officer, and did their part well, but, from the incompleteness of their works, were soon put out of action. No person showed his head on board the attacking Union flotilla but was killed by Mahone's troops, posted on the river's bank. The action lasted from nine, A.M., to three, P.M. Notwithstanding these facts, no history, Northern or Southern, connects the name of Mahone with this severe military and naval artillery duel, whose result, so adverse to the Union flotilla, certainly exercised a pernicious influence on all of McClellan's subsequent operations.

Mahone's first actual fighting, in the open field, was at Fair Oaks, the Third Corps fight of Kearny and Hooker—just as Williamsburg had been; as the Orchards, Glendale, Bristow Station, Chantilly, Hazel Grove, the Peach Orchard, Wapping Heights, were to be—worthy of such rivals in glory as were inspired by a spirit akin to that of the hero of this Memoir. On the first of May, 1862, he was in his camp, three miles from the battle-field, on the Charles City-road. Nevertheless, he reported, at sunrise, or seven, A.M., to D. H. Hill, who happened to be the senior commander on the field, when Mahone came up. For this reason, he reported to General Hill, who had occupied Casey's Headquarters-tent, on the ground from which the Union troops had been driven. At the Battle of Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines, as it is variously styled, Gustavus W. Smith commanded the Confederate left, and Longstreet the right. The farm called Seven Pines was on the right; the farm styled Fair Oaks, on the left. The Confederate Commander-in-chief, Joseph E. Johnston, was at the latter point. Mahone had only three Regiments with him; one, however, was detached, and he made his attack with only two, to the left or North of the Williamsburg-road, in "the thickest growth of woods you ever saw." Struck by overwhelming masses, he was driven back, with severe loss, and had his horse killed. After this battle, at Fair Oaks, the Confederate troops were brigaded by States; and Mahone, in consequence of this arrangement, retained four Regiments, all from Virginia.

It is well known, that, when active operations recommenced, towards the end of June, it seemed as if it was the intention of both McClellan and Lee to operate in the same quarter, that is, for the former to turn the Confederate left, and for

Lee to turn the Union right. Whether this be so or not, the first collision occurred in the opposite direction, on the twenty-fifth of June, in what is variously styled the second Battle of Fair Oaks, the Affair of Oak Grove, or of the Orchards, or of the Peach Orchards—the Confederates have still another name for it. On this occasion, Mahone was opposed to Hooker; flanked our attack; and inflicted serious damage.

When Kearney fell back, after Savage Station, on the night of the twenty-ninth of May, it was Mahone's Brigade which headed him off. Kearney's Aid, the well-known Brevet-Colonel, U. S. V., or Major, U. S. A., Alexander Moore, gives quite a graphic account of this skirmish, in which he lost some "ducks," as he expressed it—*i.e.*, cavalymen—of his escort, trying to communicate with his General, along the Charles City-road.—(*Reb. Record*, ix., Doc. 436, (2) *Brigadier-general Mahone's (Corroborative) Report*).—Kearney attempted to get across the Chickahominy, by the Brackett's, or Upper, Ford, but ran into Mahone's Brigade, and suffered sufficiently to compel him to recross and follow the road to Gathering's, or the Lower, Ford. Mahone spoke of this as a mere skirmish, as scarcely worth mentioning among the many hard fights in which he took part; nevertheless, it had a marked importance, at the time, and, if utilized, might have produced memorable results.

The next engagement, as regarded the army in which he served, in which he participated, was Malvern-hill, on the first of July.—(*Mahone's (Corroborative) Report—Reb. Record*, ix., Doc. 438, 439).—He dwelt upon this, with great feeling, as a useless slaughter. He was on the extreme right of Lee's line, which was very ragged. The ground was not only rough, but of the most difficult nature, affording every advantage to the defence. "We went in," said he, "with beautiful heroism, and got 'butchered.'"—(*See Brigadier-general William Mahone's Reports of operations around Richmond—Rebellion Record*, ix., 436.)

That night, he had only one hundred and fifty men of his Brigade together. All the rest were scattered. This is one of the many proofs of the disorganized condition of the Confederate Army, and also of the fact that nothing but McClellan's inefficiency prevented the capture of Richmond, on the following days.

Mahone was of the opinion that, if the Confederate plan for the Battle of Malvern hill had been carried out, it would have been a complete success.

Here was another instance of failure, resulting, as usual, from utter inability to estimate the value of time, the greatest or most criminal delinquency in War. Two and a half days were wasted in making a march which ought to have

been accomplished in half a day.

In the Pope Campaign, Mahone was not engaged, until the battle which is generally known as the Second Manassas, or Bull-Run Second, often styled Groveton. Upon this occasion, the thirtieth of August, Mahone was wounded, just as he was about to deliver one of his telling blows.

The General's wife had often remarked, referring to his size, that if he was ever hit, he would be knocked to pieces. The result proved that she was incorrect. The stuff in Mahone's body was as first-proof as that which constituted his moral force. The ball hit him on the left side, over a rib; flattened upon one of the buttons of his coat; spun him round, like a tee-to-tum; and was found in his boot. As he fell, he ordered his senior Colonel to "Forward," and take the Union line in flank. The Brigade behaved well; but the commander hesitated, from no want of courage, however. Thus the attack came short of its spirited projector's intention.

While being at Upperville,* near the eastern entry to Ashby's Gap, wounded, and about the time of the battle at Sharpsburg, he was overtaken by the Union Cavalry. By the way, this shows that the Union Cavalry were around, some, notwithstanding all the abuse heaped upon them, for inefficiency. Mahone made his escape with difficulty into the Blue Ridge-Mountains, at whose feet this village is built; but his wagon fell in the hands of the Union Horse, and with it, all his comforts. They made a welcome booty of his stores, his liquors, bed, bath, spoons and other plate, etc., for Mahone lived like a little King, and ruled about as despotically. "I was dead broke," he said; "took to 'the mountains; and made my way home.'"

At this point, it may be as well to state a few curious facts in regard to Mahone's Head-quarter arrangement, indicative of the same pre-eminent common sense which characterized all his public service and private actions. He absorbed his whole staff in himself—the only acknowledged Staff-officer he had about him was an Assistant Adjutant-general. All the other subordinate duties were discharged by Orderlies—"Couriers" he termed them, corresponding to what are known in France as "Guides." These acted as Aids; and yet could be punished as soldiers for derelictions of duty. Thus he never had to con-

* Upperville is quite a place for this part of Virginia, on Pantherskin-creek, in Fauquier-county, of which Warrenton is the capital. It is situated about three-quarters of a mile West of Carttown; midway between Aldie, the scene of Pleasanton's Cavalry fight of June 13, 1863, and Paris, in Ashby's Gap, midway between the Bull Run Mountains and the Blue Ridge; and Pleasanton had a third Cavalry affair, at Upperville, on the twenty-first of June, 1863; the second was at Middleburg, on the nineteenth. So much pains has been taken to locate this place, because it is not laid down on any but the most detailed maps, such as are accessible to few readers.

sider the susceptible feelings of consequential young officers, such as those who so often filled similar positions in the Union Army—men of fortune and good family, who knew nothing and learned next to nothing; who were incapable of being permitted to assume any responsibility; who were brave enough, but so uninformed that they were dead-weights rather than assistants to a General. Then, Mahone's Head-quarters, or baggage-wagon, was a complete little treasure-house of comforts, nay, even luxuries, including an excellent bed.

Lee once sent down a Major as Inspector-general for Mahone. The General said: "Major, 'make yourself comfortable for the night, and, 'to-morrow, be pleased to say to General Lee that 'Mahone's Brigade does not need an Inspector-general.' Lee, on hearing this, said, 'He is 'right. Mahone does not need an Inspector-general.'"

Mahone rejoined the Army of Northern Virginia, at Culpepper Court-house, on its return from Maryland, after Antietam or Sharpsburg. He found his Brigade very much depleted, scarcely six hundred men left out of the four thousand with which it commenced the march, northward. He soon got it up again to hundred.

Fredericksburg was the next battle.* His Brigade formed that part of Lee's line, next to the extreme left.

After Fredericksburg, he resumed his profession, as Engineer, and laid out the lines of works which bothered Hooker—especially those, from the unfinished railroad to Orange Court-house, occupied by Anderson's Division, on the thirtieth of April, and those opposite Banks's Ford—and his plans were executed by his own Brigade, some twelve hundred strong, discharging the duties of assistants and pioneers.

He was at the United States (Mine) Ford, or Bark Mill Ford, † and commanded two Brigades of Anderson's Division, when Hooker succeeded in turning the Confederate position, and crossed further up; and when it fell back from the river upon Lee, Mahone, with one Regiment, constituting the Confederate rear-guard, held our Cavalry in check, near Chancellorsville. This was on Thursday, the thirtieth of April, the day Hooker's Army, as such, may be said to have crossed. Anderson afterwards came up with the balance of his Division.

The next day, Friday, the first of May, Mahone posted the troops; and, after Jackson came

up, he (Mahone) struck the Sixth United States Infantry, under Sykes. Mahone was operating on the turnpike; while Anderson was fighting on the same plank-road which Mahone had laid out and built.—(*Hotchkiss and Allen's Chancellorsville*, 36; *Rebellion Record*, x., 263-293.)

The next day, the second of May, Mahone was on, or rather to, the left of the plank-road, confronting Chancellorsville, on the identical ground where Lee and Jackson had their Head-quarters, on a cracker-box, the preceding night.

This was while Jackson was making his celebrated flank march or movement, which ended in snatching up the Eleventh Corps. "As soon 'as I heard Stonewall Jackson's guns," said Mahone, "I pressed the Union lines, in front of 'me, Slocum's Twelfth Corps, and did some A B 'work, running part of my Regiments (Sixth Virginia Infantry) right through the Union abatis. 'Captain Williams, who commanded the skirmish-line and did up the work so handsomely, 'was killed. Here I took a splendid flag, a 'most elegantly-finished work, the first I ever 'captured. Howard's runaways, actually, after 'traversing the whole Union Army, ran into my 'lines, hatless, etc. During the night, I heard of 'Jackson being wounded." "He was a great 'man; he understood the true principles of 'strategy." "To name Stonewall Jackson, was 'to express audacity and time." "Jackson 'was great on time."

The next day, the third of May, Mahone was still pegging at the left or East face of the apex of the Union line. He admits that the "Union- 'ists" [*Sickles and Slocum held this ground*] "fought like devils, at Chancellorsville House," particularly Graham's First Brigade, First Division, Third Corps.—(See Davis's *Life of Birney*, 379.)

When it was known that Sedgwick had carried the Heights of Fredericksburg, Lee wanted two Brigades, to assist in arresting the Union advance. He selected that of Mahone; and when he found that he ranked Semmes, of McLaws' Division, added the latter's Brigade to the former's command, with directions to join Early, if possible; otherwise, to co-operate with him. Mahone ordered his Brigade into his old lines, on the Old Mine Road, previously alluded to, as Anderson's lines of the thirtieth of April. He thus reversed the front of the works which had been originally built to resist an attack from the contrary direction. "Here Sedgwick should have 'been met. It would have made the fight two 'miles nearer Lee's main army." There is no doubt of this, as affairs turned out; but, if Hooker and Sedgwick had co-operated and attacked, simultaneously, the Confederate lines, facing East and West, it would have gone hard with the Army of Northern Virginia.

* See Report of the Battle of Fredericksburg, by Brigadier-general William Mahone.—*Rebellion Record*, x., Documents, 119.

† See Report of the Battle of Chancellorsville, by Brigadier-general William Mahone.—*Rebellion Record*, x., Doc. 293.

Early was cut off by Howe's attack, and thrown off, completely, to the left (*i. e.*, South), whence he worked round, the next day, into Sedgwick's rear. He had little effect on the Salem-church fight.—(Hotchkiss & Allen's *Chancellorsville*, 85.)—In this engagement, Mahone was on the extreme (Confederate) left (North), and claims to have come near bursting up Sedgwick, since he greatly overlapped the Union right, and repulsed it by an enfilading fire. A reference to the elaborate maps attached to Hotchkiss and Allen's account of the battle, will show that Mahone is correct, in his comments on these affairs.

Mahone, still a Brigadier-general, with a command of about sixteen hundred men, was present at Gettysburg, but took no active part in the engagements of either of the three days. He was with the reserve of eight thousand men, the first day. These were not used. "Things ought to have been pushed, early that day. There was nothing, in front, to prevent a successful result; and had Stonewall Jackson been alive"—the appreciation of time and audacity personified—"the position of Gettysburg would have been lost to the Union cause."

Captain Blake, in his *Three Years in the Army of the Potomac*, 124, quotes the remarks of Confederates, captured at Bristow Station, in 1862. These prisoners were constantly talking about the good qualities of their commander, who had marched them sixty miles in two days; * * and one of them exclaimed: "If your Generals were as smart as Jackson, you would soon conquer us." True! Fortunate for the North.

On the second day, Mahone was in the centre, in reserve; on the third day, still in reserve, and only subjected to the cannonade.* With all his fire, he was opposed to the final assault, and foresaw and predicted its results.

Mahone agreed with the writer, that the final attack was made too late in the day. It has been remarked—and this opinion is a very just one—that the Confederate commanders almost always fell into the error, indeed, this appeared to be their custom, of making their most important attacks in the afternoon, when their men were fagged out, if from nothing else, with waiting, when more or less affected by exposure to the sun, or to the cold, lying in line, idle, fasting, with nothing to do but reflect, for hours upon hours. Whereas, if they had attacked early, after a good breakfast, they would have had all the force consequent upon a night's repose

of mind and body, backed up by the invigorating excitement and strength of food. What is more, an attack late in the day left no time to improve a success, since rapidly-approaching night precluded the harvesting of the fruits of an afternoon's work. On the other hand, if an early morning attack failed, there was ample day-light to renew it, with better results, at noon, or in the afternoon; and if it succeeded before midday, there was the whole afternoon to reap the harvest of spoils. Such a delay was Napoleon Bonaparte's fatal error at Ligny and at Waterloo; and he lost, *by waiting*, all that he did accomplish by his prodigious efforts, at a later hour. In any event, at Ligny, it hindered a decisive victory, when nothing but a decisive triumph could have saved his doubtful cause.

He left Gettysburg, on the night of the fourth, covering the rear. His line of retreat lay through Fairfield; and his fighting Brigade was hurried on, through Monterey Springs, on the summit of the South Mountain, to redeem the disaster occasioned by Kilpatrick's raid upon the retreating trains.

At Williamsport, his Brigade held the lines to the left of St. James College. He left them, at eleven, P. M., on the night of the thirteenth and fourteenth, and crossed the Potomac, at nine, A. M., on the fourteenth, and ate his breakfast after he got over. He established the truth of Lee's Report, in this respect, that the last of the Army of Northern Virginia did not cross the Potomac until between twelve and one o'clock, mid-day, on the fourteenth of July. Despite the assertions of many of our own officers, to the contrary, the writer believes that this is indubitably so, after a thorough examination of conflicting authorities and conversations with soldiers and officers of veracity who were serving with the Confederate rear-guard. This, however, being proved, what on earth was Meade doing, from daylight to noon, especially as the gallant and eagle-eyed Mahone admits that sufficient precautions were not taken to cover the withdrawal?

Nothing of consequence occurred, as regarded Mahone, either while Lee was falling back to the line of the Rapidan, or during Lee's subsequent advance towards Centreville, until, what he terms, the "disaster" at Bristow Station, "where Hill got badly hurt." Mahone was about to be put in, but did not get under fire. As he said, "The affair was terribly mismanaged. Whoever heard of making a direct attack upon a railroad, with a line parallel to it, since an embankment or curve serves as a perfectly defensible work?"

As is well known, Warren was left alone, behind, with his single (Second) Corps. With characteristic decision, he seized upon a deep cutting in the railroad; concealed a large body of

* According to Bachelder's map, Mahone was directly in front of Humphreys, a little to the left, facing West or South of the umbrella-shaped clump of trees. He appears to have had the Sixth, Twelfth, Sixteenth, Forty-first, and Sixty-first Virginians.

troops, behind a railroad embankment—(Cudworth's *First Massachusetts Volunteers*, 435)—and received Hill with such a withering fire, as drove the assailants back, with severe loss, including a battery. "Warren did well," said Mahone—high praise from such a man—"and we got severely hurt." This was on the fourteenth of October.—(*Harper*, 519, 520.)

When Lee fell back to the line of the Rappahannock, Mahone was often, *provisionally*, in command of two or three Brigades. He was always "drilling, drilling, drilling, and kept his men well up."

On the seventh of November, occurred the brilliant affair, for us, of Rappahannock Station. The bridge-head, on the North bank, Mahone pronounced a "man-trap," and foretold Russell's brilliant attack, and "gobbling" almost the entire force within the work—*sixteen hundred* prisoners, besides killed and wounded—(*Harper*, ii., 520).—Mahone was at Glaisel's House, to the left of the bridge, up the river, and witnessed the whole affair. Thence, he fell back to the Hall House, beyond Brandy Station, on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. "Then and there," said he, "you could have seen the result of discipline. In less than an hour after my Brigade was posted, it was fully entrenched. There was no organization of a Pioneer Corps, in the Confederate Army; but I required every ordnance-wagon to carry a certain number of tools—shovels, picks, axes, etc.—for each Regiment. The Ambulance Corps had but little to do. I required them to bring these up to each Regiment, when they were needed; afterwards, to gather them up and transport them back to the train—this, when they were not engaged in their appropriate duty. So much for method. If any of their tools were lost, I reckon somebody got hurt."

On this occasion Lee sent for Mahone. Although he was not advanced as he deserved, Lee was fully aware that his little fiery lieutenant possessed a pre-eminent topographical glance and the highest engineering capacity. Mahone told him that "his line was very weak and untenable," and advised him to fall back and occupy the line of the Rapidan [*Rapid Anna*.] In accordance with his counsel, on the seventh of December, Lee fell back to the line of the Rapidan, "the strongest in this country," in the opinion of this gifted subordinate.—(*De Trobriand*, ii., 180; *Lossing*, iii., 107).—Indeed, this occasion was the first on which Lee gave, publicly, to Mahone, personally, any evidence of his appreciation.

Lee, with A. P. Hill and Ewell, was on an eminence, noting the Confederate Army as it came into line. He was struck with the rapid

and skillful construction of field-works, in Hill's Corps, and inquired "whose Command had so quickly entrenched itself." Hill said he "could not tell, unless it was Mahone's." When these Generals dispersed, Lee said to Hill, "Send that officer to me." When Hill delivered the order, he inquired, "What now?" and received for answer, "Go and see." When Mahone reported, General Lee asked what he "thought of the line?" Mahone replied, "Do you seek my opinion as an Engineer or a General-officer?" Lee said, "As both." "Then," said Mahone, "it is the most indefensible line I ever saw or can imagine." "Such is my opinion," said Lee. "My Engineers give me great trouble." "What is your advice, General Mahone?" "To fall back, beyond the Rapidan, which affords an impregnable line of defence." "Can it be done in the face of the enemy?" inquired Lee. "Yes," responded his lieutenant, "if commenced at once." "Then lead off," said Lee. From this time, Lee never failed to express his appreciation of Mahone.

On the twenty-seventh of November, Mahone says that Lee occupied "an immensely strong position on Mine Run. Had Meade attacked he would have got badly hurt."

"All I (Mahone) got at this time was a lot of hides—the whole country was covered with them—stripped off the cattle slaughtered to feed the Union troops. I made my Ambulance Corps"—Mahone seems to have been down on this service—"pick them up; and I traded them off, with the neighboring tanners, for dressed leather. This I converted into shoes. I made everything—lasts, even knives, all but thread—and, with details from my old Command, shod my men better than the Government did the other troops."

In Mahone's Division, the Winter of 1864 passed off in "drill, drill, drill." It had been strongly recruited; and was in an efficient condition. When Grant crossed the Rapidan, it was eight thousand strong, and consisted of five Brigades, say fifteen hundred each; four Regiments to a Brigade, say four hundred each.

When the campaign ended, few of his Regiments numbered a hundred muskets; but each, generally speaking, had its full complement of officers. As the Southerners are very much like the French, in disposition, this redundancy of officers doubtless made them fight much better.

In the Wilderness fight, on the fourth of May, 1864, Mahone was sent to stop the turning of the Confederate left. Mahone's testimony would seem to corroborate the idea that it was Grant's first intention to turn the Confederate left and move upon Gordonsville. On the fifth, he was operating on what he termed the "upper plank-road." On the morning of the fifth, Mahone

turned the Union left; pushed it back; and doubled it up on the plank (Brock) road.—(*Harper*, ii., 628.)—It was on this road that glorious Wadsworth was killed and Longstreet was shot down, the same day, as was supposed, by Finnegan's troops. Mahone was in command where Wadsworth fell, so gallantly striving to stay the retreat of his Command; and the Finnegan, referred to, in connection with Longstreet, was afterwards one of Mahone's Brigadiers, and himself the hero of Olustee, or Ocean Pond. On the seventh, Anderson having been assigned to the command of the Corps of Longstreet—its beloved commander being supposed to be mortally wounded—Mahone was transferred to the command of Anderson's Division.

As the Army of Northern Virginia evacuated the Wilderness, Mahone brought up the rear—(Examine, in this connection, Early's *Memoir*, 22, 23, etc.; and Swinton's *Army of the Potomac*, 445.)—At Spotsylvania Court-house, he took part in daring movements, striking, in flank, the Union attack upon the angle of the Confederate works, which had the effect of relieving the pressure which endangered that portion of their line, although the attack was not as resultative as it would have been with a more sufficient force.

At Spotsylvania Court-house, Mahone made another burst, and claims to have "captured the "Head-quarters and principal flag-station, and "ran Meade off."—(Examine *Swinton*, 445.)—This must be the occasion alluded to by Chaplain Warren H. Cudworth, in his *History of the First Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry*, 473, when, "during the afternoon (Saturday the fourteenth "of May) General Meade narrowly escaped capture by the enemy, being in a house upon "which they made an unlooked-for charge, "having, doubtless, been informed by their scouts "that he was there."

At the North Anna, Mahone made another brilliant coup. This stream, although narrow, is subject to sudden floods, and flows through a deep, rocky, and woody ravine, whose natural difficulties were augmented by strong works, on the Southern bank, to which it constituted a better wet-ditch than any engineer could have devised or executed. By thus holding a position back, a little from the river, instead of the bank itself, Lee fulfilled, to the letter, von Bulow's maxim—(*Dumas' Histoire de la Campagne de 1800*)—for the defense of the river: "The best "method to defend a river is to have the Army "in hand, at some distance from the shore, and "fall vigorously upon the enemy, after he has "effected a crossing." Thus, the assailant becomes the assailed, and has to fight with a stream in his rear, recognized as one of the worst situations in which to deliver a battle. There, the

opposing armies relatively occupied very peculiar situations. At this point, the Army of Northern Virginia presented an obtuse triangle, with its apex toward the river and to Grant with both wings refused. Wright (Sixth Corps) and Warren (Fifth Corps) confronted Lee's left, so that they held a line almost parallel to it. Burnside (Ninth Corps) was opposite Lee's apex, which pointed North, directly towards a sharp curve, or U, of the North Anna, bending southwards, half-way between the Union right and left wings. Crittenden's Division of the Ninth Corps, General Ledlie's Brigade leading, plunged into the stream, and passed it, at Quarle's Mill, or Ford. As soon as they were completely over, Mahone, who was on the extreme right (of the left wing?) of Lee, pushed one Brigade right out into the space between the two armies and across the chord or opening of the bend. Then, immediately, like a panther—a fit emblem for him—he dashed at the advancing column; fell upon it, with his usual vigor; drove it back; inflicted severe loss; captured a large number of prisoners and General Ledlie's head-quarters flag, before succor could reach that commander. Guernsey—(*Harper's History of the Great Rebellion*, i. 631)—must allude to this manœuvre where he speaks of it as a "brilliant one." Greeley—(ii., 578)—is very clear in regard to it. He says: "Crittenden's Division was promptly repelled, "with heavy loss." Fletcher—(iii. 241)—reads: "When the leading Division of Burnside's Corps" (opposite 'the apex' of Lee's lines, on the river, between the two wings of the Federal army), " essayed to cross the river, he, Lee, by "Mahone, made it pay dearly for its attempt." Lossing—(iii., 326)—corroborates Greeley and Fletcher. "And so it was, that when Burnside's "Ninth Corps of the centre attempted to cross "between the two wings of the Army of the "Potomac, his advance Division (Crittenden's) "was quickly met (by Mahone) and repulsed, "with heavy loss. When Warren, on the right, "likewise attempted to connect with Burnside, "by sending Crawford's Division, in that direction, an overwhelming force fell upon him, "with almost fatal weight."

At Cold Harbor, on the third of June, Mahone's Division lay in reserve. After the Union troops had carried the first line, in his front, Finnegan, the Confederate hero of Olustee or Ocean Pond, with his Brigade, which had been, by Mahone, posted, during the night, in anticipation of this very attack, recaptured the works, in a manner no less creditable to his Brigade than destructive to the Union force which had gained such an advantage.

After the Union Army had possessed itself of the first line of Confederate works, East of Petersburg, it pushed forward two columns, in

parallel lines, on the South of the city, up to and beyond the Jerusalem plank-road, the inner column fortifying as it progressed.

A Confederate Division was sent out to feel for the enemy, but returned without accomplishing any thing. General Mahone, seeing the enemy, asked for, and obtained, leave from General Lee to attack them. A Division was directed to move out, in front of the Union advanced columns and beyond the outer ones, with instructions, so soon as Mahone should begin the fight, to press down upon this outer column, and force it towards the Confederate lines. This part of the programme, however, was not fulfilled. In the meanwhile, on the seventeenth of June, Mahone withdrew three Brigades of his Command, quietly, from the lines which he manned, and, passing them along a ravine to the front of the inner column, formed line of battle, and, suddenly dashing upon it, rolled it up, as a scroll, and forced it back, upon the works, at the plank-road, and upon the main body of the Union Army.

This occurred in sight of the Confederate lines, which were studded with heavy artillery. The officer commanding this artillery had orders, from Mahone, to open his batteries, simultaneously with his assault, and to keep them in full play in front of his advancing columns. To his chagrin, these great dogs of war remained silent as death; and not a shot was fired from them.

The parallel columns of the Union Army were so near to each other, that Mahone's right flank passed within a very short distance of the outer column, which, though unassaulted, was so paralyzed that the movement of the Division acting with Mahone's, on it, as was ordered, would necessarily have put it to flight. The failure of this Division to move up, and of the artillery on the lines to open its fire, saved these two columns from utter destruction. As it was, Mahone, with three Brigades of his Division, captured sixteen hundred prisoners, four guns, and a large quantity of small arms.—(*Swinton*, 510; *Greeley*, ii., 586.)—Following this, he baffled a further effort, on the part of the Union forces, to gain possession of the Weldon Road, striking the advance Regiments of such forces, in flank, and capturing many prisoners.—(*Greeley*, ii., 587.)

Mahone's next exploit, in order of date, is what he terms the "Crater fight"—that most terrible of all Union failures, on the thirtieth of July, 1864.—(Examine *Jarratt's Guide to Petersburg*; *Harper*, 679.)

Of this, Mahone was unquestionably the hero; and the whole credit of our repulse belongs to him. Indeed, notwithstanding the combined blunders of all the Union Generals connected with the affair, we would have gone straight into Petersburg, but for the timely appearance

of the Civil Engineer and natural General, Mahone.—(*Fletcher*, iii., 271; *Littell's Living Age*, No. 1347, p. 792, comparison to Lannes, "Napoleon's own favorite Marshal, the best handler of troops, in action, according to his master's judgment, of all the quick tacticians that followed the imperial eagles.")

While our volunteer miners were at work—for West Pointers pooh poohed the subterranean operations, before Petersburg, and Meade and Duane, Chief Engineer of the Army, styled it "clap-trap and nonsense,"—(*Report on the Conduct of the War*, i., 25; *Battle of Petersburg*, 1, 2, etc.)—Hancock, with his Second Corps, and Sheridan, with his Cavalry, were sent over to the North side of the James, as a feint, say some—to make a real attack, say others—upon Richmond. This, whether real or false, had the desired effect. Lee tumbled four of the seven of his Divisions out of the works, on the South or right of the James; hurried them across his pile-bridges, near Drury's, or Drewry's, Bluff; and, while he thus frustrated Hancock's attempt, if any confidence had been placed in it, by Grant, left the way open, before Petersburg, if the mine had been a success.

The four Divisions left behind were Mahone's (of Hill's Corps), Bushrod Johnson's, Hoke's, and Field's, of Anderson's (formerly Long-street's). Mahone was on the extreme Confederate right, some two miles away; Bushrod Johnson, in the front, and to the immediate right of the mine, which, in itself, was a perfect success. The subsequent reverses are due to red tape, and worse.*

The mine was run under an advanced work, often styled a fort, which constituted a salient, about a mile immediately in front of Petersburg, to the Southeast. To a casual or superficial observer, the country does not appear very rough, but it is extremely broken, or, rather seamed, with ravines, or gullies, *accidente*, as the French express it. This, while it facilitated the building of the mine, it also, as will be seen, favored the able movement of Mahone to fill up, with men, the gap, opened in the earthworks by the explosion.

At half-past three, A. M., the fuse was fired, but failed. Two intrepid volunteers—yes, heroic volunteer soldiers, for if their act was no heroism, to penetrate into the bowels of the earth, with every chance of being entombed alive, and to perform their daring work, unseen by men and, therefore, ignored by men, there is no heroism in earth—Lieutenant Jacob Doughty and Sergeant Henry

* If any one deems these remarks the result of prejudice against West Point dogmatism and individual dislikes, let him examine the testimony taken before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, in 1865, Volume 1.—*Battle of Petersburg*—and his eyes will be opened, unless it requires a miracle to effect that result.

Rhees, of the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers, relighted the fuse, and scarcely escaped from the gallery, when the mine exploded. This was 4.42, A.M.

Thus far the Volunteer idea—the mine was suggested as well as constructed by Volunteers, with Volunteer materials—proved a perfect success.

As Meade was in command of the Army of the Potomac, he cannot shift the responsibility of this failure from his own shoulders to those of a subordinate. His manner of judging and acting, throughout the whole course of his career, in that exalted and responsible position, brings him under the denunciation of the Napoleonic Colonel, Baron AMBERT, in his work, *The Soldier, (Le Soldat)* page 179—"Woe to the lukewarm, 'cold, or slack,' (*Malheur aux gens tièdes!*) His course, on this occasion, was a perfect parallel to that of MONCEY, in 1809, when, if the French Marshal had acted promptly, following up the victory of Tudela, he could have gone right straight into Saragossa. General of Infantry, the Prussian, Heinrich von Brandt, then a subaltern in his army, records this as his opinion of the event: "Aus den Leben" etc.—(*Theil*, 1. *Seite* 18 *supra et infra*, thus reviewed, in the *Edinburgh Review*, as quoted in *Littell's Living Age*, 792—798 of No. 1347, March 26, 1870):

"Although the battle was won on the twenty-third of November, not two days march from Saragossa, it was a week before the French commander came in sight of the city [*Petersburg*]; and, when fairly before it, want of means or dread of repeating the failure made earlier in the War, held him back from any attempt to take the place by a *coup de main*; nor was it until he had received a regular park of heavy guns, and had been reinforced by the whole Corps of Mortier, that he commenced, about the middle of December, after several vain summons to Palafox, the first operations of the memorable siege."

The springing of eight thousand pounds of powder shook the ground like an earthquake; blew the two, four, or six, (according to different accounts) guns in the salient into the air, and the garrison—an unhappy South Carolina Regiment, two hundred and fifty to three hundred strong—likewise into the air; then engulfed and buried over half of them, likewise the artillery detachment, leaving a crater, some two hundred feet long, fifty to sixty feet wide, and twenty-five—Mahone says, one hundred and twenty feet long, sixty feet wide, and forty—feet deep. Consternation struck, the defense was paralyzed; the only officer who appeared to have had his wits about him, was shot down, striving to rally his men; and the Confederate troops fell back, towards the town, leaving, as all parties seem to

agree, the avenue to triumph open.

Now comes one of the most perfect illustrations of the value of time on record. Mahone heard the explosion, two miles away; but was already on the alert.

The Union Generals did all they could to waste time; and, finally, tumbled a column of men into the hole made by the explosion, and let them lie there. Their blundering, in engineering, failing to open issues for the assaulting parties to get out of our works, preceded by worse blundering, and succeeded again by even still worse—if such a series of inexcusable mistakes can come under the head of blunders—lost us from twenty to thirty minutes, or more. Just half this space of time would have carried our troops into Petersburg, about one or one and a half miles distant. It sufficed to bring up the ever-ready Mahone, from about two miles distant, by the route he had to take.

While, on the one side, it was a tissue of mistakes, on the other side, it was almost equally so, or hardly better—redeemed, however, by the supreme activity and ability of one man. The idea that if a man adventures his life and dies bravely, this sole fact constitutes him a soldier, is one of the greatest fallacies into which our people have fallen. The present War (1870) in Europe, on the French side, is completely exemplifying this. Another equally dangerous error is, that a Commander is a great General who can waste human life without remorse, and who will pour forth human blood, like water, upon a resultless objective. Those Captains are truly great who accomplish great ends with comparatively little means; and such was and is Mahone.

As stated, Mahone heard the explosion, and was already on the *qui vive*; so that, when an Aid-de-camp galloped up, in search of reinforcements, he was almost ready to move, and at once started off with his Virginia and Georgia Brigades, toward the menaced point, covering the march of his column by ravines and covered ways, in the rear and parallel to the Confederate lines; halting his men and causing them to strip for action, he proceeded, leaving the column to move on, to investigate matters.

Drawing rein at the Head quarters of Bushrod Johnson, the General in command of that portion of the line embracing the crater, Mahone found him in conversation with Beauregard, to whom he said, "General, I am here with two Brigades, to support General Johnson as by 'directions of General Lee'!" whereupon General Beauregard said to Johnson, "You had better turn over such of your troops as lie near the crater, to General Mahone, who will undertake the reclamation of the captured works." Johnson was to co-operate with Mahone, with parts of his Command, right and left of the

crater, now separated by the explosion.

Mahone, hurrying on, led his men, who had come up, or out, towards the mine, by a ravine perpendicular to the front, whence a lateral branch, at right angles, turned off parallel to the Confederate works. Thus his leading Brigade (Virginians) was established within a few hundred yards—two hundred is the estimate of an eye-witness; three hundred, if memory serves—of the crater, crammed with Union troops, huddled together like benumbed wasps, on a frosty day in Autumn. Mahone himself dismounted, climbed the bank—he is still surprised, as he then wondered, that he was not shot down, standing thus, alone, exposed, and so conspicuous an object, in his light gray uniform—and distinctly counted eleven flags established on a front, of which the blown up fort was the body; and the adjacent works, about several hundred yards in extent, the two wings on either side. He immediately calculated that these eleven flags represented twenty-two hundred men. He estimated that a half hour had elapsed since the explosion; and saw indications of an advance. He got his men—Weisiger's Virginia troops—upon the top of the bank; and they gallantly, with the steadiness and line of a dress-parade, met the charge and volley he had anticipated with a counter-charge and discharge, point blank, well aimed, which drove the Union troops back into the crater; "following them 'into the outer lines, using the bayonet.'" Posting sharpshooters to keep them down, which they did—for a few marksmen sufficed for this, by picking off every man who showed himself—Mahone put forward the Second (subsequently Gerardy's) Brigade of Georgia troops,* who had just arrived, regained their breath, and some order. Mahone speaks in the highest terms of Gerardy.

These troops he ordered to charge and re-take the captured line, to the left or South of the crater. His first Brigade, Weisiger's Virginians, had nobly won back the works to the right of it. The intervening ground was cleared and sloped, outwards and downwards, to the mined fort, and extending to the right, or South. It was now swept by an artillery fire, whose fury almost surpasses conception to those who have not witnessed a similar scene. One of our Generals of Artillery, (C. S. W.) present, said, that the canister, pieces of shell, and other missiles, striking the slope, produced an effect upon it similar to the heavy drops of rain, in a thunder-shower, upon a placid sheet of water. It was enough to appall the sternest veteran; and, when the Georgia troops charged, the fire had the

same effect upon them as the shock of Stannard's volleys upon the right flank of Pickett's column, at Gettysburg. It threw them off to the left, so that, instead of striking Mahone's objective, they glanced off and shrunk in behind his first Brigade, sheltered by the works they had retaken. By this time, Mahone's Third Brigade—Saunders' "Immortalized Alabamians"—had come up, for whom he had sent upon his first view of the situation, for there was nothing, in case of failure of his first attack, to prevent the march of the enemy into Petersburg. It was composed of better troops than the preceding. They made a direct charge at a run; lost an astonishingly few men, considering the fire to which they were exposed; and drove the Union troops out of their remaining captures of the morning. Mahone now augmented his sharpshooters, around the crater, and, a few good shots picking off all who tried to get out, kept every one down.

Then the Confederates picked up muskets, with bayonets fixed, which our men had abandoned, and projected them into the air, like javelins, so that they came down, like the rain of Norman arrows, at Hastings, transfixing our poor fellows, white and black, promiscuously mixed and lying piled upon each other, in the chasm.

"It was cruel;" remarked Mahone, relating these facts, "but what could be done? By and 'bye, I saw what seemed to be a white handkerchief thrust upwards, over the edge of the crater. I stopped the firing, and we took eleven hundred and one prisoners out of that slaughter pen. I afterwards diligently analyzed your (the Union) Reports, and found that your loss, in killed and wounded, and prisoners, was five thousand, two hundred, and forty. Bannon, in his *Grant's Campaign against Richmond*, 1864-65, 245, puts it down at five thousand, six hundred, and forty. These figures were collated from statements published at the time. My loss was not over two hundred and fifty." Thus ended the catastrophe.

All the while, forty thousand—some say fifty, and it has even been asserted, seventy thousand—Union troops were massed to support the first rush, or, rather, lay as nearly within the supporting distance of the attack, as Mahone had been, as regarded the defense. Our best troops do not appear to have been at, or even near, the point of collision. The combined Second and Third Corps, (Mott's and Barnard's *Statements*) were in reserve, and the Sixth Corps was away, protecting Washington. The force, present, consisted of the Ninth, Tenth, and Eighteenth Corps; at hand, the Fifth Corps; in reserve, the combined Second and Third Corps; aggregate, sixty thousand? Professor John W. Draper, who wrote under the most favorable

* At Gettysburg, Wright had the Third, Twenty-second, Forty-eighth, and Second Battalion, according to Bacheider

circumstances for arriving at the truth, says (iii? 405): "The assault was to be made with fifty 'thousand men.'—Guernsey (*Harper*, i? 699,)—gives the same number, as drawn together for the attack. They looked on, and did nothing. Why they did not make a diversion, to the right or left, is incomprehensible to any military mind. On the extreme Confederate right, Mahone's line proper was denuded of defenders; for he had led his troops to the scene described. The intermediate works were feebly held. The neglect to co-operate with the attack, at the crater, is something which must excite astonishment on reviewing what occurred, and what should, if the American people ever held any one to strict responsibility, arouse their withering indignation.

Mahone's promptness and audacity, upon this occasion—this one achievement—should immortalize him.

Well might the British Colonel, Fletcher, (iii? 273,) remark: "General Mahone became greatly 'distinguished, during the operations around 'Petersburg. From the commencement of the 'War, he had been noted for his soldierly abilities; and, when placed in high command, he 'evinced the qualities of an able General. Previous to the War, he had been Civil Engineer on 'the Norfolk and Petersburg railway. He and 'General Gordon were accounted as two of the 'best of the Division Generals of the Army of 'Virginia." And again (*Ibid.*, iii? 500.) he declared that Mahone "divides with Gordon, 'the capture of Fort Steedman, on the twenty-'fifth of March, 1865, the glories of the last 'campaign of the Army of Northern Virginia."

At, about, or after, this decisive action, on his part, Mahone was created Major-general. Why this promotion had been so long delayed, was, doubtless, owing to the caste-prejudices and jealousies which worked such disastrous results, as well in the Confederate as in the Union armies. There is no question but that a thorough-bred, naturally capable, and self-reliant practical railroad man must make the best of commanders; for his very ordinary business imbues him with a knowledge of the value of time—not only of hours, but of minutes and seconds—of system, of discipline, and of, what is even more important, inexorable responsibility. He had before been offered a *provisional* Major-generalship. This he indignantly refused. His promotion came when it had become almost unnecessary; for he was now the senior Brigadier-general in the Confederate Army, in active service.

On the twenty-third of June, Mahone, with two Brigades from his Division, left his position on the Confederate line, and marched a distance of nine miles, to anticipate the return of Generals Wilson and Kautz, from their celebrated raid

on the Southside and Danville railroads. As was expected, Wilson came up, with his Command, at sunrise, upon the advanced line of Mahone's, but declined an engagement, although four thousand strong; at once massed his forces, on the North bank of Rowanty-creek; destroying the bridge in his rear, apprehending, doubtless, the pursuit of Hampton, at whose hands he had been discomfited, the night before. Here, Mahone, with his two Brigades thus situated, was yet within three miles of the left of Wright's Corps; and, with the knowledge that Wilson had communicated with that Corps, he well understood that in delay there was great danger. Confronting Wilson, with one Brigade, and taking him on his flank with the other, Finnegan's, at which juncture he was reinforced by Fitz Lee's Cavalry, the assault was made, resulting in the most inglorious defeat of Wilson's Command—his forces, in wild confusion, seeking safety, through the woods, in every direction; losing, in their flight, all their artillery, having previously surrendered their entire ordnance, ambulance, and provision-trains, with a lot of prisoners, some five hundred and odd slaves, and an immense quantity of personal property, taken on their raid.

In due order of events, we now come "to the 'fight on the Weldon Road," are the words of a letter from one of Mahone's friends. "Grant 'made an effort against Lee's lines, on the 'North bank of the James-river, resulting in 'the capture of Fort Harrison. Failing of the 'full success contemplated, he turned Warren 'back, who had reached the James-river for the 'purpose of reinforcing the movement for a diversion on the Weldon Railroad, where Warren, without resistance, quietly established 'himself. Heth, with a part of his Division, 'was sent, on the eighteenth of August, to confront him, by Beauregard, in the absence of Lee, 'who was on the North side, commanding that '(the right) wing of the Confederate Army. 'Warren, in this new position, on the Weldon 'railroad, was now detached from the extreme 'left of the Federal lines by more than a mile.

"The intervening space was covered by a 'heavy growth of wood. Mahone suggested to 'Hill, who conferred with him upon the position, 'that this interval between Warren and the left 'wing of the Federal Army was doubtless occupied by no more than a picket line, as it proved; 'and that Warren's overthrow might easily be 'effected by boldly penetrating this picket 'line; separating Warren from the main body 'of his friends; and taking him in rear and 'reverse. This suggestion of Mahone was 'adopted by Beauregard, and Mahone asked 'to perform the task. Beauregard allotted one 'Brigade of Mahone's Virginians and two of

"Hoke's, for the service; and, while Mahone insisted upon the insufficiency of such a force for accomplishing [securing] the fruits of victory after it had been won, yet, in deference to the earnest desire of his superior, undertook the movement.

"He, on the nineteenth of August, penetrated the picket-line, and successfully got in the rear of Warren's line of battle and on the flank of his position; and, rapidly moving upon Warren's very Headquarters, was foiled in his triumph and capture of all and everything by the disintegration of his two attacking Brigades, from the vast number of prisoners—twenty-six hundred and fifty—which fell directly into his hands. This left only one, the Virginia Brigade, at the very moment when the addition of two more would have insured the capture of the entire dislocated Command. To cover the results which he (Mahone) had already accomplished, was all that could be done; and this was handsomely performed by the most reliable of all his troops—Mahone's own Virginians—his old Brigade.

"Had Mahone been given six, instead of three, Brigades for this service, Mahone thought the entire force and establishment of this Command of Warren's would have been captured; while the result, brilliant in its proportions, amounted, perhaps, to no more than the capture of two thousand six hundred and fifty men and the consternation of Warren's whole force. The importance, to the Confederate situation, of dislodging Warren was such as to induce Beauregard to direct that Mahone should renew the attack with a strong force. This he did, on the second day after, the twenty-first of August, by a detour around Warren's left, aiming here to take him, again, in flank and rear.

"In the meantime, Warren had fully fortified his position—front, flank, and rear. Mahone, with six Brigades, made, successfully, his detour, and formed his line of attack, in the fog of early morning, on the flank and somewhat in the rear of Warren's lines. But, in this case, he had been misled as to the exact position of the Federal line, and, in consequence, formed his line of attack more remote than he otherwise would have done. This gave more ground to pass over, before reaching the enemy's real position, than had been anticipated; and, in consequence, his line became somewhat ragged at the moment when the touch of the elbow was most essential for success. He was unsuccessful, therefore, in carrying the works, but boldly maintained his own position the balance of the day, and said to General Lee, "With two more Brigades, he would pledge himself to accomplish the work he had set out, in the morning, to perform." It was

"Lee's purpose to give to Mahone the reinforcement; but Field's Division, from which the reinforcements were to come, arrived too late for any further successful movement."

Such is Mahone's account, and whoever considers he has exaggerated his success can easily detect any error by comparing it with the most popular writers, at the North, on the War. Swinton (532—535) sets down the aggregate Union loss at four thousand, four hundred, and fifty-five. Compare Greeley, ii., 562; Lossing, iii., 355; Harper, 703.

The next prominent action in which Mahone was to emulate the thunderbolt, was at Hatcher's run, on the twenty-seventh of October, 1864, when Grant operated to turn Lee's extreme right, in order to gain possession of the South-side railroad. The main movement was intrusted to the combined Second and Third Corps, Hancock's; subsequently, the combined Second and Third was supported by the Fifth, Warren's. The latter was ordered up, to form a connection between Hancock's right and the left of the Ninth, Parke's, who was to engage the attention of the Confederate troops, in the front, while Hancock was making the farthest turning manœuvre. Hatcher's run is a marshy stream, flowing from East to West, through thick forests and dense underbrush. Its head-waters are near Zion and Corinth Churches, on the South-side railroad, about fifteen miles East-south-east of Petersburg; and it struck the extreme left of the Union lines, near Armstrong's, on the Duncan-road, [Grant's Map about seven miles South of the "Cockade City."

It would be difficult to conceive a more ugly country to operate in. Our maps were defective. Brigades and Regiments went astray. Staff officers, sent to entangle the "Toho-Bohu," became lost themselves in the maze; a drifting rain and fog made bad worse; night came on; and thus, in an unknown region, "darkness that could be felt" converted the termination of this military movement into a literal groping in the dark. This was one of our disasters; and, had Mahone been adequately supported, it is impossible to estimate what might have been the extent of our losses. On our side, it was redeemed by Egan, commanding Gibbons's Division of the Second Corps. Mahone pays the highest compliments to the ability and intrepidity displayed. Praise, from such a man, is, indeed, praise; and Egan deserved it.

While Heth was to head us off, at the bridge, at the Burgess mill dam, and attack vigorously, and Hampton was to harass us, Mahone, as usual, made a turning march, through the woods, and, after a detour, formed his line in their edge; charged across an open field; and struck Egan on the right flank. Egan, (previously Gibbons's)

Division, (old Second) which was posted in a clearing, South of the Run, with his guns on an elevation to the left of the Boydton-road, made a conversion; wheeled around his guns; and, perfectly supported by acting Brigadier McAllister, Third Brigade, (old Third) gave Mahone such a stunning reception as, finally, after a hard fight, drove him back to the shelter of the forest! Mahone says the scene was beautiful, in the dimness of the mist and the thickening darkness, through which the blaze of the musketry shone like lightning against a black cloud.

While he was performing, according to his wont, he appears to confine his praise to that officer, Hampton, who did his part well. There seems to have been as little co operation in our own army; and the glory of this involved engagement belongs to Egan and Mahone. Our losses were great—the result a failure; and this, as on so many other occasions, was due to that little fire-eater, whose name is hardly known in the North, and yet was our most dangerous and indomitable adversary. He realized the idea of the “hornet” of Scripture, in the spitefulness and persistency of his attacks. He was a perfect military yellow jacket-wasp.

After this action, Mahone was absent from the army, some time, on leave. But he was not forgotten; for, while Fort Steedman, or Sedgwick, on the Union side, received the title of “Fort ‘‘Hell,’’ its opponent, where the lines approached nearest together, was named Fort Mahone, and dubbed “Fort Damnation”—not inappropriate, since its sponsor, our great little hero, always gave us a taste of something akin to the idea expressed by the nickname.

Mahone does not seem to dwell upon any of the intervening operations, until those which occurred when the fortunes of the Confederacy were at their last gasp.

At the end of March, 1865, he held the Confederate lines, at Bermuda Hundreds—(*Fletcher*, iii., 506; *Swinton*, 585; according to *Harper*, 762, Lee, Hill, and Mahone were in Petersburg, on the second of April, 1865)—and it was not until the last days of the month that he withdrew, covering the rear of the flying or retreating fragments of the “Army of Northern Virginia.” To the last, he maintained discipline in his decimated Division, and opposed an undaunted front to the pursuing enemy. Mahone speaks of Miles as his most persistent adversary; and, by the troops of Miles’s Command, his Headquarters wagon, with all his comforts and papers, were captured. Among them he most regretted the capture of his elaborate Reports, on which he had expended immense labor, especially that embracing the operations from the fifth of May to the thirty-first of December, 1864. Mahone is of the opinion that,

by dextrous flanking movements and his usual spiteful attacks, he inflicted a severer loss upon Miles than has ever been admitted. His last combat of importance—for the fighting, in detail, or skirmishing, never ceased—was at Cumberland-church. This is the name of the place given by Mahone; but the writer cannot find it on the most detailed map or plan of the district, embracing the last scenes of the War, just beyond the Appomattox.

The Second and Sixth Corps were operating together; and Miles, of the latter, tried to play Mahone’s game upon Mahone, and turn his position. Mahone turned upon him and gave him a severe shock, upon which he plumes himself, not a little. It certainly was plucky enough, and worthy his whole previous career. Miles lost six hundred men. When the game was about up, Lee called into his counsel, Longstreet, so greatly trusted, and Mahone, no less worthy of trust, if not more so—certainly a wiser if not a better fighter—to ask what more could be done.—(*Harper*, 771.)—Mahone advised surrender. He said that further fighting was wicked, because useless. As long as there was a hopeful chance to fight, no one was more eager to do so, or did it more effectually.

“The Army of Northern Virginia” surrendered; and Mahone’s military career was ended. On his return to civil life, his energy was recognized in his appointment as President of the three combined railroads, terminating at Norfolk.

If he live, his future is an assured one; and he is already talked of as the next Governor of Virginia.

III.—LANSINGBURGH, N. Y.

ITS EARLY HISTORY, OLD SETTLERS, SCHOOLS, MARKETS, ETC.—CONTINUED.

IX.

ANECDOTES.

I see one of the youngsters of the village has been aroused into giving in his testimony. I am glad of it: let all talk if they talk as well as he. We shall get a history of our beautiful village, in this way. I sat dozing in my chair, last evening, thinking over our old men, and how few of them are left.

With my inner sense, I seemed to see Captain Ives, and hear his cheerful “I mighty, no.” How genial he was—how pleasant and affable to all. What an immense coöperation he had, on Grove-street; and how many poor people were fed from his monstrous slaughter house which stood on what became, afterwards, the old Fair Ground. He went to England, once, to arrange for supplying John Bull with beef; but the

thing would not work. I believe the old gentleman came from Connecticut to this place. He had some military position during the War of 1812. What a hard-headed Democrat he was.

Then there was Alexander Walsh—"A nimble sixpence is better than a slow shilling," was his motto. He had a number of clerks, from time to time, who eventually set up for themselves and became successful merchants. Among these were Anson Groesbeck, Horace Day, and Moses Younglove. What a store he had, in the olden time. Variety, indeed—you could get anything, from a spool of thread to a pint of vinegar, handsaws, and broadcloth. I bought some excellent box raisins there, for sixpence per pound. In those days, we heard little of dollars and cents; but every transaction was in Pounds, Shillings, and Pence. But how he used to scold his clerks: I think he really enjoyed it.

Then there was old Mr. Spaulding, who lived on the Wager corner, where the fire occurred the other night. How many, to day, remember the bear story he used to tell? He was captured by Indians, and headed up in a barrel, with the bung open, and rolled down a hill. A bear came along; smelled the man inside; and, by a fortunate circumstance, got his tail inside. Spaulding seized upon this, and kept his hold. The frightened bear went off, at a tearing pace, dragging the barrel after him, until the continual dashing against stones and trees broke the prison to pieces, and thus liberated the voracious prisoner. And then the pig transaction. Spaulding had a splendid swine, fat, and ready for the knife. He—not the swine, but Spaulding—owed Moses Maulin for a bill of meat. Maulin wanted his pay; and Spaulding had no money. Moses discovered the swine, and noted its beauty. He would levy upon it, if he could; but the law allowed a man one hog in the pen. Moses was equal to the emergency; he visited Spaulding, often, and sympathized with him, in his poverty. Finally, he gave him a little pig. Spaulding was very thankful to his friend, but the next day his friend levied on the big hog: the law did not allow a man *two* swine.

Your young correspondent speaks of eating gingerbread at Joseph Fox's bake-shop—I wonder if he ever ate any from Mrs. Bonce's, where Doyle now lives? I don't believe such gingerbread was ever made, before or since. And, again, did he ever take anything to drink at Fordham's, where Mason now lives? And that puts me in mind of Fordham's grand-daughter, Anna Maria, who married Stephen C. Bull, and went up to Vermont to live: I wonder what has become of her! Does he remember the "kan-garoos" that were held in Captain Baker's house, near where Lavender now lives? Say, boy, do you remember Sophia?

Just South of Mr. Hayner's, in that long wooden building, Hedges & Mulford made nails; and such a clatter as was kept up. Mr. Dagget worked there—who does not remember him, name and all?

There was a man lived in the village, whose name I withhold for fear some of his descendants may be living here; and I do not wish to injure their feelings. This man, by a lumber transaction and a fortunate marriage, became possessed of some wealth and, of course, some airs. He went into Sidney Smith's store, one day, and took from a boy's hand a copy of Day's *Algebra*; and, turning over the leaves, he came to the subject of Powers. "*Is this the Powers that makes oil-cloth, down town?*" said he. This same man originated a novel mode for supplying the village with water, during a season when fires were prevalent. He proposed to dig wells at the corners of the different churches; then, having gutters and conductors attached to the respective roofs, it was plain to be seen that, at each church, we would have a *well and cistern, combined*. The obtuse people couldn't see it.

I have spoken of Smith's store, and a fine place it was. Sidney made money there, until he built the fence around the lot where Bates now lives. Striker told him he would have to raise the price of letters if he built that fence—Sidney was postmaster at that time. Sorry to say, he built the fence.

Shubael G. Lansing kept store in the early time; and Hugh Hastings was, for a time, clerk for him. Hugh left the village, suddenly, one night; and, some time, I may tell you how and why. I believe he is now the owner of the *Commercial Advertiser*, in New York.

Your correspondent of last week speaks of William S. Chichester. William was what they, now-a-days, call a gay and festive youth. His father, the Rev. E. Chichester, built, after the great fire, a store next South of where Mason's shop now is. There was no inside way upstairs, at first; but parties having business went up on a ladder which stood in the yard. The old gentleman had, for some nights, seen a light in the upper part of his store; and he mistrusted, as he had good reason, to think that William was in mischief, up there. So, one night, he came from his house, quietly; ascended the ladder; and shouted out, as he reached the floor, "Now I have you." But he was slightly mistaken; for, in an instant, the ladder "slipped down"—of course, by mere accident—and the old gentleman was imprisoned. William suspected that he was watched; and so was too cunning to be caught. He may not have been secreted in the yard; and may not have thrown down the ladder. Possibly not.

OLD MAN.

X.

Some of your readers would be astonished if I were to tell them that up at Lansing's grove, where the Lansing family now live, there was once a large nail-factory; and that the brook that comes down through there, and across the road, furnished the power; and yet such is the truth. Otis Bates owned the factory and, in truth, the whole property. He had near one hundred men at work there. William Lansing, father of John and Jacob, the owners of the lumber-yard, bought the property of Bates.

The tavern, in Batestown, known as Barney Adams's place, was built by Bates; and, just below it, on the same side, he had a large nail-factory. The brook furnished the power.

There are some old houses in the village. The house owned and occupied by Esek Hawkins, Esq., was built in 1753. Old Billy Douglas worked on it. Some of your old readers must remember him. He was a hard old nut. A man by the name of Van Rensselaer, one of the Patroon's family, had it built, as also the one where Jabez Hawkins lives. It was said to be the best house North of Albany; and it was, at that time, in Albany-county. Van Rensselaer sold this house to a man named French. This man was very wealthy, and carried on an immense trade in grain. The house of Jabez Hawkins was, at that time, four stories high, and used as a store-house for grain; the upper story was finished off for lodging-rooms, for his clerks. This French was a notorious out-spoken Tory—so much so, in fact, that Government seized and confiscated his property; and he fled into Canada. There he got into trouble, from some cause, and into prison, whence his wife rescued him, by exchanging clothes with him and thus passing him out.

After the surrender of Burgoyne, the store-house was used as a hospital. There was a legend, and it still obtains credence among the old people, that French, before he fled, buried large sums of money in the yard attached to that house, and near the well. What labor has been expended and what brains racked to find this buried treasure? So many veils looked through; so many divining rods, sticks of witch hazel, old women, consulted. Why, the number of visions vouchsafed to Frisbie Way, on that subject, are incredible.

On the close of the War, the Government sold the house to a man named Banker, and he to Armington. This last failing to pay, the property was sold to the present occupant.

On the river bank, and across from the house, was a ship-yard; and, North of this, a saw-pit.

North of the Hawkins' house, is, to-day, an old, brown, brick house, known as the Spafford-

house; built before the Revolution. Here Doctor Spafford lived and died. He was a man of great erudition; and his family was more than ordinarily intelligent—the Doctor died of cholera, during its first visitation, I think, in 1834.

Speaking of Burgoyne's army, reminds me of Schuyler's position, on the island across from Waterford. He had troops stationed there. Before the dam was constructed, there was a road running, Northward, from Albany, crossing over on Green-island, and thence, fording the river, to Van Schaick's-island, up through to Canada. Those who have examined this last-named island, will remember a wagon-road, extending from the Manor-house to the lower extremity. It is bounded on the West by a piece of woods. Well, this road is a section of that old military-road, above spoken of, and often echoed to the march of armed men and the rolling of heavy cannon and ammunition-wagons. Schuyler and Gates often galloped over this road; and the lopeing Indian was no stranger to its windings. Schuyler built earth-works on the island, opposite Waterford; and one or two of them are yet in good preservation—they were called, in military parlance, "lunes," because of their shape. These lunes were pierced for cannon. Near these earthworks, was an old mill, whose power was supplied by a canal cut into the side of the island. The mill stood there for many years; and finally gave way to the freshets.

Before the dam was built, at Troy, the navigation, here, in Summer, amounted to very little. It was not difficult to cross to Waterford, dry shod. At Waterford, or, as it was called in old times, Half Moon Point, a wharf had been extended out, a great distance, for convenience in loading and unloading goods. A portion of that wharf remained there until a comparatively recent period.

But to come back to the Hawkins' corner. This was the scene of some of Hollyhook's exploits. A pair of blankets were stolen from some one, up town; and it was suspected that Holly was the thief, as he most certainly was. He lived in an old house, across from Captain Hawkins; and the Captain and Ralph Mygat—he worked at tin-work, for Filley, and, finally, moved on a farm, in Saratoga-county, and died there—went over to search the house for the missing blankets. They found them secreted under the floor. Old Holly was watching the operation; and, as soon as the blankets came to light, he exclaimed: "Them as hides finds." This was turning the tables with a vengeance. These blankets sent Holly to State's Prison. He would go to Filley's tin-shop, and pick up pieces of tin, the size of a sixpence, cut out with a punch. These he would hammer out; and up to Fordham's he would go, and call for

a drink. "Where is your money?" says Fordham. "Here," says Holly, holding out the bogus six-pence, closely held between his thumb and finger. The old man, with feeble sight, seeing the shining edge, would pour out the fluid, which Holly would quickly swallow, and then drop the tin, and stalk out with loud guffaw.

Hollyhock was an unadulterated, unmitigated nigger. He was employed to saw a pile of hickory-wood, for which he was to receive a dollar. He picked out the lightest and softest sticks; these he sawed and threw carefully over the other, so that the pile appeared to be cut through. He got his money, and laughed at his employer.

OLD MAN.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

IV.—SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES, IN MORRIS-COUNTY, NEW JERSEY.

BY THE LATE REV. RICHARD WEBSTER, OF MAUCH CHUNK, PENN.

WITH A MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR, BY REV. JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, PRESIDENT OF WABASH UNIVERSITY, IND.

[In 1854, an effort was made, by a few persons, to organize arrangements for a general celebration of the one hundred and sixteenth anniversary of the organization of Morris-county, New Jersey, mainly with the hope of securing documents and sketches pertaining to its early history. The general effort failed; but several important contributions to Morris-county history were secured. Among these, was an extended paper from the pen of that remarkable man, the late Rev. Richard Webster, of Mauch Chunk. His paper is entitled *A Brief Sketch of the History of the Presbyterian Churches in Morris-county, New Jersey*. This, with several letters addressed to myself, personally, are so valuable as to warrant their being put into a permanent form, for reference.

By the consent of that most devoted and unselfish Presbyterian historian, Joseph M. Wilson, Esq., the Publisher as well as Editor of *The Presbyterian Historical Almanac*—an invaluable series of annuals—I have condensed the sketch of Mr. Webster's life which is found in the *Presbyterian Almanac* for 1861, pp. 205–207, as a fitting preface to these letters, which, for the first time, are given to the press.

JOSEPH F. TUTTLE.

WABASH COLLEGE, INDIANA, April 19, 1871.]

I.

A MEMOIR OF THE LATE REV. RICHARD WEBSTER.

BY PRESIDENT TUTTLE.

Richard Webster, the son of Charles R. and Cynthia (Steele) Webster, was born in Albany, New York, on the fourteenth of July, 1811. His father was a prominent bookseller, in that city, and published an influential newspaper. Mr. Webster's love of books and newspaper-writings was, undoubtedly, nurtured by his father's occupation. His mother belonged to one of the good old families of Albany, whose praise is in the churches. Well-cultivated, in early life,

his mind expanded, under the influence of his collegiate and theological course, and received great strength and discipline from the higher studies incident to his profession. Blessed with a retentive memory, he treasured up what he acquired. He was a hard student, all his life. He possessed warm social feelings. The emotional part of his nature was simple and earnest, and was a true balance to his insatiable love of knowledge. When free from restraint, and among friends, he loved to indulge his natural humor. Few persons, indeed, had more wit, more genuine playfulness, a more rich vein of native fun. This exuberant capacity for amusing others, often manifested itself in pleasant and jocose remarks, producing irresistible laughter. His nature was eminently social; but deafness interrupted, especially in the latter part of his life, this genial flow of soul. In the family, his affectionate disposition showed itself in endearing and delightful manifestations. Having graduated at Union-college, Schenectady, N. Y., in 1829, and at Princeton Seminary, in 1834, after finding that the plan he had in view, of going to India, had to be abandoned, he entered upon his Master's service, as a Domestic Missionary, at South Easton, Pennsylvania, having been ordained, as an Evangelist, by the Albany Presbytery, on the twenty-ninth of April, 1835.

From South Easton, he extended his labors to Mauch Chunk, thirty-eight miles from Easton, on the Lehigh-river. The coal-mines had only been opened a few years; and a population of about two thousand had collected in that vicinity. His labors were so successful that, by the Spring of 1836, there had been a church organized, a lot secured, and the money partly raised for building a church-edifice, which was erected and dedicated, in February, 1837.

Among the incidental labors of the years of his ministry, was a constant contribution to the religious press. Few men, who were not regularly in the editorial chair, wrote more; but, most of this period, he gave the strength of a mind, which seemed to have been constituted by God for the work, to gathering up, and preparing for publication, what could be found of the early history of the Presbyterian-church in the United States, and of the lives of her early Ministers. In the prosecution of this work, he became the repository of almost everything that could be collected, in connection with them. Since the effort has been commenced among the churches to prepare histories of their early settlement and organization, he has been called upon, continually, for a history of some church or preacher; and, from his generous disposition, he has been tasked with writing, almost weekly, such sketches and histories, many of which have

appeared in the historical Sermons preached and published by Pastors. In the histories of the Church, in different States, published within a few years, large contributions have been furnished by him, in addition to the numerous articles contributed, on this subject, to the religious press of our own Church. *The History of the Presbyterian Church*, to which he had devoted so much time and attention, and which had been looked for with so much anxiety, happily for the Church, had so far reached its completion as to be in readiness for publication, and, under the auspices of the "Historical Society," was about being placed in the printers' hands, a few weeks before his disease. He prepared, at the request of the Board of Publication, *A Digest of the Acts of the Assembly*, which is a most valuable book of reference, in our church judicatories.

The field to which he had given his regular labors, for twenty-one years, was the congregation collected at Mauch Chunk. There, he had been greatly blessed, in collecting and gathering into the fold of the Great Shepherd, many souls who will hail him with joy, before the throne, as their father in the Gospel of Christ. The congregation had gradually so increased, notwithstanding deaths and the numerous changes incident to such a population, that persons could not obtain sittings. His labors were unto the last. After his first attack, which was severe, he preached twice to his own people. On the last Sabbath, he got out of his bed, and went into the church and preached from the words: "Enoch walked with God, and he was not; for God took him." As he closed the Sermon, with the prayer that both Pastor and people might so live, that, when they came to die, it might be said of them, with truth, they had walked with God, many of the congregation thought, and some of them remarked, that he seemed as if he was preaching his last Sermon. And so it proved. About half past one o'clock in the morning of the day he died, he requested that his children should be awakened to see him, and bid him farewell, as he might not live until daylight. When they came, he embraced them, kissed each of them, and prayed for them, which he did several times. He gave directions about things of his house and family, his funeral, who should preach, his burial,—avoiding all show—and mentioned friends to whom he wished letters to be written. He said he would like to live for his family and the Church; lamented the vacancies, and need of Ministers for the Missionary fields. "O how I love the cause of Missions! I am comfortable. It seems impossible that I am drawing near to death. I can well pity the poor sinner, drawing near his end, and so little in the circumstances to aid him in his preparation. My voice and words fail me to

"express the trust I have in God. I would like to say to the impenitent, sickness is no time to prepare to meet God: when there is a sinking of all the faculties, it is hard to do anything—hard to enter in at the strait gate—hard to find the narrow way. If this be death, it approaches with tender, gentle, loving embrace: I feel no pain, no apprehensions. I look forward with joy to meeting my Savior, with perfect calmness of mind, and assurance of the blessing of the Lord upon myself, my wife, my family, my friends, and the church of God." He died on the nineteenth of June, 1856.

He married, in 1838, Miss Elizabeth Cross, of Baltimore, Maryland, who, with six children, survives him.

II.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES IN MORRIS-COUNTY, N. J.

BY THE REV. RICHARD WEBSTER.

Among the elements of the prosperity, the moral worth, the social joys, the family order, and the personal example, which constitute so much of the honor of Morris-county, who can deny a large and a high place to the Presbyterian Church?

In searching the records of the Presbyteries of Philadelphia, New York, and New Brunswick, and of the Synods of Philadelphia and New York and of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, the materials of this paper were chiefly found.

The Presbytery of Philadelphia had jurisdiction over all the congregations in New Jersey, until 1733, when the Presbytery of East Jersey was erected. The Presbytery of New Brunswick was erected in 1738, with the Raritan for a boundary, to include Staten Island, Piscataes, Amboy, Bound Brook, Baskingridge, Turkey, Rocksiticus, Minisink, Pequally, and Crosswicks. At the same time, the Presbytery of Long Island, covering the Province of New York, was united to East Jersey Presbytery, under the name of the Presbytery of New York. The Rev. John Cross was settled at Newark-mountains, as early as 1732; and was blessed with a remarkable revival of religion, in 1735, noticed by Edwards, in his *Thoughts on Revivals*. He then removed to Baskingridge, where his labors were attended with great success.

The Congregation of HANOVER is first mentioned, on the Records of the Synod of Philadelphia, in 1733. The Records of the Philadelphia Presbytery are gone, from 1717 to 1733; and all the Records of the East Jersey Presbytery are lost; and those of New York, till 1775. It was represented, in September of that year, by its Pastor, Mr. John Nutman, and an Elder, Mr. Abraham Kitchell. Nutman was a native of

Newark; of a Scotch family, of such high standing that, on graduating at Yale, in 1727, his name was placed at the head of the Roll. He was probably the first Jerseyman ordained by the Presbytery: the date of his settlement at Hanover is unknown. He came to Synod, to seek relief from two grievances. Must the congregation abide by the lot which had been drawn and which fixed the site of the meeting-house where many were unwilling to place it? Might the people of West Hanover (Morristown) separate from his charge, and build a meeting-house for themselves? The matter was ended, in 1734, by a decision, that, as matters stood, it was impracticable to comply with the lot; and, therefore, they might select a new site and "reflect upon their past practices, in order to "repentance." The difficulty with West Hanover subsisted till the twenty-sixth of July, 1738, when a Committee of Synod met at Hanover, and Mr. Nutman and his friends acknowledged they had not been damaged by the withdrawal of West Hanover, "being in growing circumstances," and able to support themselves."

Mr. Nutman left in 1745, and taught, in Newark. He died on the first of September, 1750, aged forty-eight.

The Rev. Jacob Green was ordained and installed, by the New York Presbytery, Pastor at Hanover, in November, 1746. He was born at Malden, Massachusetts, on the twenty-second of January, 1722. He graduated, in 1744, at Harvard-college; and was converted under the preaching of Gilbert Tennent. He came, with Whitfield, to New Jersey, and studied divinity with Dickinson and Burr; and was licensed, in September, 1745, at Elizabethtown. In 1755, Parsippany was set off as a distinct congregation. He was chosen Vice-president of Nassau Hall, on the twenty-second of November, 1758. In 1772, he wrote largely to Doctor Bellamy, setting forth his plan for increasing the number of Ministers by shortening the course of study and diminishing the amount of information required. "Now," he says, "we first make "them gentlemen, then Ministers." At the close of the Revolution, on the eighteenth of October, 1779, he withdrew from New York Presbytery and, with his son-in-law, Mr. Bradford, of South Hanover (Madison) Mr. Grover of Parsippany, and Mr. Amri Lewis, of Orange-county, New York, formed the Morris-county Presbytery. This congregation refused to follow him; and the Presbytery advised them to retain their aged and valued Minister.

Mr. Green established the Morris-county Society for the promotion of Learning and Religion—at once an Education and a Missionary Society. It was incorporated by the Legislature; and, among others aided by it, was Seth Wells,

a native of Long Island and long the head of the Society of Shakers, at New Lebanon. The funds and corporate privileges are now held and used by the Newark Presbytery. He died on the twenty-fourth of May, 1790, in the midst of a blessed revival of religion.

BASKINGRIDGE is spoken of by the Synod, in 1733, as the place where the people of West Hanover might attend meeting, if they did not like to go to Hanover. Aid was asked from the funds, for their meeting-house and that at Perth Amboy, the two places being served by Mr. Cross. He was a native of Scotland; eminent, as a preacher; and not less eminent for piety. Whitfield greatly loved him, as one willing to endure hardness for Jesus Christ. His itinerations were displeasing to Dickinson; and were complained of, to the Synod. He required, it is said, that parents, in presenting children for baptism, should own the Solemn League and Covenant. Davenport supplied his place while he travelled, preaching as he went. He had great success on Staten Island: several hundreds of his own people believed unto salvation. Whitfield came home with him; and wonders were wrought, that day, at Baskingridge, as Horatius Bonar calls it, in his new edition of Gillies' *Historical Collections*.

Mr. Cross was one of the first members of the New Brunswick Presbytery, and was soon called up for a debate (or contention) with Daniel Chambers. Subsequently, he was excluded by the majority of the Synod of Philadelphia, in 1741; and, not long after, when the revival was at its height, "his dreadful scandals came to "light," and he was cut off by his Presbytery. They refused to restore him, because they had no sufficient proof of his repentance. But a great body of people adhered to him and heard him, gladly. President Dickinson mentions this, as showing the existence of Antinomianism. In the great land-riots, he was charged with being a chief counsellor of the people who held under those who bought the lands for a five-shilling-bill and a bottle of rum.

On his suspension, Baskingridge and Staten Island called the Rev. Charles McKnight, in 1742; and then the Rev. Joseph Lamb, on the twenty-fourth of May, 1744, was called to the former church, alone.

Mr. Lamb graduated at Yale, in 1717, and was ordained, probably, by Long Island Presbytery, Pastor in the town of Southhold, over the church of Mattituck. Of his stay at Baskingridge, we know nothing, but that he was one of the first Trustees of New Jersey College. He died, in 1749.

Samuel Kennedy was born in Scotland, in 1720; graduated at Nassau Hall, in 1749; was taken on trial, by New Brunswick Presbytery,

on the sixth of December, 1749; licensed on the eighteenth of May, 1750; was settled, in Baskingridge, on the twenty-sixth of June, 1750; and remained there till his death, on the thirty-first of August, 1787, though almost tempted to leave through insufficient support.

To him, succeeded Dr. Robert Finley. His father accompanied Dr. Witherspoon to America, and resided at Princeton. His son used to say his father had more divinity and church-history in his little finger than he had in his whole body.

MORRISTOWN obtained the services of Mr. John Cleverly, a graduate of Harvard, and applied to the Synod for his Ordination, the Presbytery being unwilling to countenance their separation from Mr. Nutman. It was left, in September, 1735, to Philadelphia Presbytery. In May, 1736, the people pressed the Presbytery to proceed, and was directed to appoint a day that they might meet on the spot. In August, 1737, no appointment had been made, and the Presbytery resolved to set out the next day for West Hanover. Objections were made to his ordination; but the Presbytery did not judge him unfit for the ministry, and advised him, by reason of the opposition, to seek another field of labor. They sent to the Rector of Yale College to send them a candidate; for they knew no other way to supply them. The people again applied to the Synod, in May, 1738; and a Committee was appointed, which met at Hanover, on the twenty-sixth of July. There were present, Mr. Andrews, of Philadelphia, Gilbert Tennent and his brother William, Mr. John Cross, Mr. Cowell of Trenton, and Mr. Treat of Abingdon. Gilbert Tennent preached from *Ezekiel*, xi, 19; Mr. Kitchel, on behalf of Hanover, set forth their weakness, as a reason for desiring to be joined with West Hanover, on any reasonable terms. The Committee led all parties to agree that there should be two separate Societies; and that, in order to prevent difficulties between the western part of Baskingridge, liberty be given to all to unite with either congregation, as they shall choose, on paying what they now owe. West Hanover had now become "one half abler" than in 1732.

Mr. Cleverly remained there till he died, in advanced life, on the thirty-first of December, 1776—"a man greatly beloved." He lived on a small property he possessed, and probably served the church, till Mr. Johnes came, on the thirteenth of August, 1742.

The Rev. Timothy Johnes was a native of Southampton, Long Island, and graduated at Yale, in 1737. He seems to have married, and resided in New Hanover; for, when the second church in that town was gathered, it worshipped in the house of Timothy Johnes. He was ordained by the New York Presbytery, on the ninth

of February, 1743, and died, of dysentery, in September, 1794, aged seventy-eight. Three precious revivals built up the church, in numbers, knowledge, and piety.

ROCKSITICUS is mentioned as a congregation set off from the East Jersey Presbytery to that of New Brunswick, in 1738: it was restored, at its request, to New York Presbytery, the next year. Before 1740, there was a meeting-house, a mile and a half from Mendham.

The Rev. Elijah Byram was settled in October, 1743, his brother Ebenezer having removed there from Bridgewater, Massachusetts. Mr. Byram graduated at Hanover, and was probably ordained by the New York Presbytery. He accompanied David Brainerd to Ope-ho-taw-pung, (Wapunallopen) in Lucerne-county, and was sent by the Synod to the Valley of Virginia, in 1747. A revival began, under his labors, which continued for several years. He joined the New Brunswick Presbytery, in May, 1751; and declined a call to settle at Falling Spring and Providence, Virginia; accepted a call to Amwell, New Jersey, on the twenty-fifth of June, 1751; and died there, before May, 1754. It is said the Rev. John Pierson, a son of the Rector of Yale, succeeded him, in 1753. This fact is asserted in the Mendham records. Did he conform to the English mode, and take Holy Orders?

Francis Peppard, a native of Ireland, graduated, at Nassau Hall, in 1762, and was taken on trial, by the New Brunswick Presbytery, with a view to laboring in Nova Scotia; on being licensed, was united to Hardwick and Mendham; was ordained, by the New York Presbytery, at Mendham, in 1764; and, in 1773, was dismissed to the New Brunswick Presbytery; then settled at Upper and Lower Hardwick, New Jersey; and left, in 1779. He was installed at Allentownship (Brainerd's Irish settlement in the Forks of Delaware) in August, 1783; and resigned, in 1794. He returned to Hardwick, and died there, on the thirtieth of March, 1797. His grandson, the Rev. Joseph Kerr, was one of the first Missionaries of the Presbyterian Board to the Indians.

Thomas Lewis graduated at Yale, in 1741; and was ordained and installed over the North Society, in Fairfield, Connecticut, on the twenty-eighth of March, 1744. He was called to Bethlehem, in Hunterton-county, New Jersey, on the fourteenth of October, 1747; and labored there and at Kingwood, till the twenty-fifth of May, 1756. He then settled at Hopewell and at Lawrence; left, on the twentieth of May, 1760; was at Smithtown, Long Island, from 1763 to 1769; and was the Pastor of Mendham, from 1769 till his death, in May, 1778, [August, 1777?] A zealous friend of the great revival, John Joline, graduated at Nassau Hall, in 1775; was taken on

trial, by the New Brunswick Presbytery, in May, 1776; and licensed on the tenth of October. Hardystone and Rockaway asked for him, in March, 1779: he spent a year there, but declined the call. Mendham asked for him, on the eighteenth of October, 1779; but the invasion hindered his ordination, till the eighteenth of October, 1780, when he was ordained by the New York Presbytery; and was dismissed to settle in Florida, Orange-county, New York, in February, 1795.

SMITHBURY is mentioned, in September, 1784, as belonging to Philadelphia; and was, at the request of the people, put under the Presbytery of East Jersey.

PEQUALLY is mentioned as set off to the New Brunswick Presbytery, in 1738; is occasionally mentioned, afterwards, in connection with Minisink. How far did Pequannock township stretch, in 1738, or was this the old sound given to Paquerrey?

SOUTH HANOVER had the Rev. Azariah Horton, for Pastor, on his resigning his Indian Mission at Southampton, Long Island, in 1753. He was born, as said in Riker's *History of Newtown*, in Southhold, Long Island; but his parents early removed to East Jersey. He graduated at Yale, in 1735; and was ordained, by the New York Presbytery, a Missionary to the Indians, in 1740, or 1741. Being much annoyed by the Separates, and the Indians being reduced very much, in numbers, he left them. He was dismissed from South Hanover, in November, 1776; and died on the twenty-seventh of March, 1777.

Ebenezer Bradford, born in Canterbury, Connecticut; and graduated at Nassau Hall, in 1773. While in college, he was instrumental in promoting a revival of religion; very zealous for "the truth," as he called Doctor Bellamy's system; and licensed, by the New York Presbytery, in 1775. He was called to Huntington, Long Island. Roxbury asked for his Ordination; he was ordained on the thirteenth of July, 1775, on application from "a broken and divided people," Black-river and Sucasunna. In 1779, he settled at South Hanover; withdrew, in May, 1779; after 1781, he settled at Bethel, in Danbury, Connecticut; then at Rowley, Massachusetts; and died there, in 1801. Under his preaching, from I *Timothy*, ii., 5, his brother-in-law, Doctor Ashbel Green, was converted. His sons were Rev. Doctor John M. Bradford, of the Reformed Dutch Church, Albany; Rev. James Bradford, of Sheffield, Massachusetts; the Hon. E. G. Bradford, President Judge of York and Lancaster, Pennsylvania; and Moses Bradford, Esq., of Wilmington, Delaware.

Alexander Miller, from Scotland, graduated at Nassau Hall, in 1754; was licensed by the New York Presbytery, in 1768; ordained an Evan-

gelist, by the New York Presbytery, on the fifth of June, 1770; labored at Schenectady; was installed at South Hanover, on the second of July, 1783; dismissed on the nineteenth of June, 1787; was the head of Hackensack Academy, till 1796, when he joined Albany Presbytery. He resided and taught, in Columbia Presbytery, from 1809 to 1819.

BLACK-RIVER. Samuel Harker (or Harcour) reached manhood; laboring at his trade; a man of great bodily vigor; graduated, at Nassau Hill, in 17—; taken up by the New Brunswick Presbytery, on the sixth of December, 1749; was licensed on the sixth of November, 1751. Roxbury and Hardwick asked for him, on the fifth of June, 1752; was ordained, on the thirty-first of October, 1752, Pastor of Roxbury or Black-river; charged with heresy, in October, 1757; and admonished by the Synod; left his congregation; and went with the Army, as Captain. He printed a book; was called up by the Synod, in May, 1763; and was suspended, on the sixth of June, 1763, for teaching that God promises salvation to the efforts of unregenerate men. In August, the congregation, in confusion, wrote to Doctor Rogers, to call a meeting of Synod; but the New Brunswick Presbytery preferred to send the Rev. Benjamin Hait, Charles Mc Knight, and Samuel Kennedy, to confer with the people. The West-Branch of Black-river asked for supplies. Harker published an *Appeal to the Christian World*. John Blair replied. The Synod of New York and Philadelphia defended. Harker married Rachel Lovel, of Oyster-bay, Long Island, of a French Protestant family. One of his daughters married Judge John Cleves Symmes; and was the mother of Mrs. Harrison, wife of General Harrison. Another daughter married Doctor Caldwell, of Lamington, and was the mother of Rev. Joseph Caldwell, President of the University of North Carolina. This territory appears to have been transferred, informally, to the New York Presbytery. Roxbury asked for Bradford, on the twentieth of June, 1775; and he was ordained, at Black-river and Sucasunna, on the thirteenth of July, 1775.

William Woodhull graduated at Nassau Hall, in 1764; was licensed by the Suffolk Presbytery, in 1768; and was ordained by the New York Presbytery, in 1770. Ill health led him, in 1783, to relinquish the ministry and take a civil office. He resided at Roxbury, and desired to have leave to demit his office; but his request was not granted till 1792.

ROCKAWAY AND HARDYSTONE were mentioned by the New York Presbytery, in March, 1777; and Joline served them for a year.

Lemuel Fordham was taken up by the New York Presbytery, on the eighteenth of October, 1779; licensed on the second of May, 1780. Sucasun-

na asked for him; Roxbury and Sucasunna called him, on the seventeenth of November, 1786; he was ordained on the fourth of December, 1787; reported, in 1803, as residing at Black-river; and in 1830, as at Chester.

PARSIPPANY. John Darbee, Derbee, Dorbee, graduated at Yale, in 1748; was licensed, by the Suffolk Presbytery, in April, 1749; buried his wife, at East Hampton, in 1757; was ordained, by the Suffolk Presbytery, on the tenth of November, 1757; settled at Connecticut Towns, in 1728, and staid two years. He removed, after, to Parsippany; withdrew from the New York Presbytery, in 1773; received, from Dartmouth, the degree of M. D.; published a Sermon on the death of his sister, Mrs. Gardiner, of Long Island.

Joseph Grover graduated at Dartmouth, in 1773; received from New England, by the New York Presbytery, in 1774; was ordained, at Parsippany, in 1775; withdrew in May, 1779; was a Trustee in Morris-county Society; and removed to Western New York, before 1800.

The Morris-county Society sent out a Missionary, on the thirtieth of October, 1804; and directed him to begin at Marbletown; go to Susquehannah; to Cinge; to Mr. Grover's; to Genesee; and return.

REV. J. F. TUTTLE:

DEAR BRO.: If these brief hints, hastily put down, will serve your purpose, in any degree, I shall be very glad. I might add that the Rev. John Carmichael, of Brandywine, Penn., a man of great importance in our Revolutionary struggles, was converted while residing with his parents at Hanover, under the preaching of Mr. Green.

Very Truly,
R. WEBSTER.

III.

MR. WEBSTER'S LETTERS.

MAUCH CHUNK PA Apr 5th 1854

REV. JOSEPH F. TUTTLE

DEAR SIR: I thank you for your letter—Mr Williamson is entirely welcome to any aid I can give him—

The Records of New York Presbytery begin in 1772—138 pages having been cut out. The original is held by Newark Presbytery. I made a copy for New York Presbytery, and my excellent friend Rev. O. M. Johnson is doing the same for his Presbytery. The Rev. Dr. N. S. Prime has prepared long time ago a history of Morris Co. Presbytery. Dr. Engles declined to publish it in the *Presbyterian* because it was made up of dry documents to a great extent. He will cheerfully contribute it if requested, he probably knows (I do not) if the records exist. Newark Presbytery has the records of the Morris Co. So-

ciety for promoting learning and Religion—and has its funds also and Corporate Seal. This was an invention of Mr. Green. I have a long letter from him to Bellamy, detailing his plan for filling up the ranks of the ministry quickly, characteristic and ultra. Among those raised up and sent out on his plan, was Seth Wells, long time head of the Shakers.

Morris Co Presbytery increased till there were West Chester Co P'by and I think the Northern Associated P'by. Dr. Porter of Catskill belonged to one of them. Dr. Weeks visited him soon after he joined our church—and was importuned by him to use his influence in inducing the other ministers and churches to follow his example. Mr. Green's reasons for leaving New York P'by are on the Records. He was accompanied by his son-in-law Ebenezer Bradford, by Mr. Grover, Amre Lewis, of Warwick Orange Co. N. Y. Mr. Bradford was ordained *sine tilalo*, to labour at Roxbury and then settled at South Hanover & then at Bethel in Danbury Ct. His history is given in the *History of Danbury*. I presume you have the records of the Synod published by our Board of Publication and the minutes of Gen Assembly in one volume to 1820.

Among my memoranda I find James Tuttle, graduated at Nassau Hall 1764, licensed by New York P'by 1767, ordained by New York P'by April 1768, first pastor of Rockaway and Parsippany—withdraw from the P'by, 1769. Died Dec. 25th 1770 (as reported by P'by to Synod).

The first meeting house is said to have been built at Rockaway in 1752. Conrad Worts a Dutch youth was taken under care by New Brunswick P'by Sept 3 1751. He had had a difficulty with the Dutch Reformed Cætus. May 27, 1752, Rockaway, a High Dutch congregation asked for him he had preached for them, and the Synod of New York appointed a Committee to inquire of the Dutch ministers in New York, if the congregation were under their jurisdiction. The Committee did nothing—the Synod left it to N. B. P'by and they ordained him July 5th 1752 and he was dismissed from the P'by Oct 21 1761, because he could be more useful in another connection. This Rockaway was in Lebanon township.

When Mr. James Tuttle was reported as ordained Mr Moses Tuttle is said to have withdrawn. The latter you perhaps know was born in New Haven and married Jonathan Edwards's sister, Martha. He graduated at Yale 1745 was ordained in 1747 first minister in Granville Mass, staid six years, Came into New Castle P'by in 1755, & settled in the frontiers of Pennsylvania probably in Cumberland Co, was driven off by the Indians & settled in Delaware before 1758, in 1763, desired to return to his former field &

being in extreme poverty was aided by our Corporation for the Relief of Distressed Ministers—met with N. B. P'by in 1776, joined N. Y. P'by and withdrew from them in 1768 or 9 and died on Long Island Apr 1771. His daughter was living a year or two [since] and furnished the particulars of her father, which will appear in a forthcoming History of the Edwards family. Having answered all your questions, let me add, that Morgan Edwards *Hist. of the Baptists in New Jersey* is in your State Hist. Society Library & is worth consulting on your County. His son Joshua lately deceased lived many years at Morristown. He had Rev. Barnabas King in great reverence. He said that in public prayer, he seemed under the especial guidance of the Spirit, more particularly on days of Fasting. He said Fast Day Sermons unsettled both Dr. Richards & Dr. Fisher politics were so vehement that sermons and prayers were watched for an unwise word.

Be sure I esteem it no intrusion to receive a request like yours. I have all the dates of N. B. P'by, New Castle, Philadelphia & Donegal of ordination &c with biographies of all our ministers to 1758 & materials to include all ordained before 1787, e. g. Nutman of Hanover, Johnes of Morris Town, Byram of Mendham (by the bye Rocksitus dates back as far as May 1738), Thomas Lewis of Mendham, Samuel Harker of Roxbury, Black River & Hardwick (grandfather of Jas Caldwell, Pres. of Unit'y of North Carolina, Bradford of Roxbury, Black River & Sucasunna [David*] Moses Baldwin, graduated N. H. [Nassau Hall] 1757, ordained by Suffolk P'by 1759, was at Rockaway from 1784 to 1792, was installed Apr. 1784—my impression is that the church was then independent or in Morris Co P'by, for I do not remember any thing concerning him in New York records or those of the Synod—was subsequently settled at Palmer & Kingston Mass. said to have been the best scholar in his class. I think his funeral sermon was published & is in Dr. Sprague's collection at Princeton Seminary. Darby in 1768 at Parsippany, ordained at the age of 49, Joseph Grover of Parsippany Fordham, Joline preached from March 1777 for twelve months, but declined the call—at Mendham for 12 or 15 years, Peppard of Mendham W^m Woodhull of Roxbury. These are roughly thrown together in hopes they may be of service.

Very Truly,

RICHARD WEBSTER.

II.

MAUCH CHUNK PA June 10th 1854

REV. & DEAR SIR

I thank you for the three

* It was David Baldwin who was at Rockaway. He was ordained at Chester, about 1719, by Morris-county Presbytery.—J. F. T.

pamphlets; I have sent to Mr. Whitehead a copy of a letter from Dr Hopkins detailing the unsuccessful attack under Abercrombie on Ticonderoga, to show that it is not improbable the tradition may be true concerning Gen Wines. I will gladly do as you desire—& the more gladly because my dear and valued brother Wallace is striving to stir up unkind feelings in his Quarterly. But it would be better if you could come here & spend a day or two—& look over my manuscript book; it is at your service & you would know what you need better than I can. Send me the names of the churches in Morris Co, or your townships—else I may not include some.

Will you inform Mr. Stoutenburg that neither Mr Nutman or Mr Green was professedly Congregationalist—and that I know of no Congregational Association in Morris Co. The only independent Church I ever heard of there was at Chester—a *Separate*—I have heard many things of Mr. Overton, that "great Election Divine" his plans of sermons, &c. Mr. Hubbel was at Wes field, not at Hanover or Whippany.* Mr. Green was an Independent, and taught his people that no appeal could be from a decision of a church of Jesus Christ—that a person unjustly excommunicated must wait for redress till the coming of the Judge of all. Somebody at Hanover complained to New York Presbytery of Abraham Kitchel, for uttering these sentiments, they were common in Hanover, but P'by waived the matter. If you should come this month I could show you the Bellamy letters of much interest to a Jerseyman & a Presbyterian. If after that I am not at home my papers will be placed so that you can see all you wish Very Truly

RICHARD WEBSTER—

If the Committee on Teachers will address the Rev R. E. Stevenson, Wyoming Pa he will furnish an account of his father a teacher & elder at Morristown a man of worth & great usefulness.

III.

MAUNCHUNK Jan 22, 1855

REV AND DEAR BRO—

On returning after preaching five evenings & visiting the families in one of our small congregations—I found your note. I will thank you for a copy of the Proposals—or if you can send the original, I will copy it into our 2^d volume of "Collec-

* The Rev. Mr. Hubbell was settled at Whippany; owned property there; and was burned out. He divided his time between Whippany, in Morris-county, and Westfield, in Essex-county. He was a graduate of Yale College; and his service at Whippany continued from some time in 1727 to 1730. So far as I can learn, he was the first Presbyterian Minister in Morris-county.—J. F. T.

"tions" already enriched with an unpublished sermon of Davies—

The facilities for education, I do not know & I know nothing especially of Morris Co. settlers. I may ask was not the Ford family from Monmouth? descended from John Ford one of the Presbyterians given to Pillockee? Cleverly was a graduate of Harvard 1715 & died in 1776 at advanced age—having outlived his property. I cannot turn to the date. I see Thomas Cleverly marked as dying June 9th 1775—but the graduates of Harvard are John & Joseph I will be greatly obliged to your brother for a copy of his sermon—Perhaps the following memorandum may serve him from Suffolk Presbytery records—(In the newspaper notice of Cleverly, it is said "he was 81 & a "man greatly beloved.") "April 6th 1750—Mr "Nathaniel Greenman was dismissed to accept a "call to the New Society in South Hanover N.J." He was "the young man educated by the "charitable expenses of Brainerd licensed by Suffolk P^{by} Oct 3^d 1748 was in S. Hanover in 1754, ordained & settled in Pilesgrove now Pittsgrove N J— & died in advance life. I can give your brother all the facts in the case. So of Dr Derby of Parsippany. What did T Holmes do, from his graduating till he came to M. Town. Nutman died Sept 1, 1751, aged 48. Nutman was a native of Newark, his father James was from Scotland married the daughter of Rev John Prudden, Dr Alden says, "he was "placed at the head of his class on Yale Catalogue because he was of a high family—afterwards they ranked alphabetically" Leaving Hanover or Whippany he taught in Newark, Jonathan Sarjeant married one of his daughters & her daughter was the wife of Rev Dr John Eniry of Philadelphia. In your notice of Father Carpenter I was reminded that in the session book of Stroudsburg it is recorded by the first minister Rev Mr Field that the church was formed after a revival that originated in a visit of that man of God & his wife there in a summer

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V.—THE EARLY BAPTISTS, IN CENTRAL NEW YORK.—CONTINUED.

BY REVS. A. HOSMER AND J. LAWTON.

Second session of the Otsego Association, holden at Burlington, September 7th and 8th, 1796.

ONE is our God who reigns above,
And one our Saviour whom we love;
One is the faith, the spirit one
That brings us round Jehovah's throne;

One hope we have, one race we run,
To our eternal shining home;
One is our guide, and one the way,
That leads to shining fields of day;
And one the song of praise we sing
To our eternal Glorious King.

Wednesday, September 7th, 10 o'clock A. M. Association met. Introductory sermon by Eld'r Joel Butler, from St. John xvii, 22. Letters from the churches read and the following account taken:

Dismissed	3	Added	318
Excluded	6	Diminished	11
Died	2		—

Diminished 11 Increase 307

Four churches and four ministers were added to the Association this year

Narrative of the churches received this year,
[1796.]

FRANKLIN.

IN the month of August, 1792, a reformation began in this town which continued until January, 1793, when on the 15th of said month they received fellowship as a church in gospel order. Their number was about 30. They increased greatly in numbers for about one year after they received fellowship: Several more were converted in a judgment of charity, who joined the Presbyterian church. This church lies southwestly from Springfield, distant about fifty miles.

AURELIUS.

SOME time in the latter end of the summer of 1795, Eld'r David Irish came into this place, and preached to the people, the Lord added his blessing, so that on the 18th of November the same year, ten persons entered into church relation. About this time the Lord began to pour out his spirit in convicting and converting sinners in a most glorious manner, the stout hearted were broken down, while young converts were shouting hosannas to the son of David, the hearts of God's people were made to rejoice, and join the blessed theme; their little cottages became praying houses, and the wilderness that not long since was a waste howling desert, where savages and beasts of prey were wont to roam, became as pools of living water.—This church lies westerly from Springfield, distant about one hundred miles.

FIRST LITCHFIELD.

In September 1794, a number of Baptist professors met in conference to consult on matters relating to Christ's militant kingdom; and feeling it a matter of importance they agreed

to continue their conferences. On the 15th of March 1795 they embodied as a church, the church at Fairfield and Palatine gave them fellowship. Their number was seven. Soon after the Lord poured out his spirit in a remarkable manner, sinners were awakened and many we trust were brought to the knowledge of the truth, so that twenty were added to the church, besides several who united with the Congregational Society in this place. In 1799 this church was again visited by the spirit of God in a special manner, and twelve were added to the church in the space of four months. This church lies west from Springfield, distant about 30 miles.

SCIPIO.

FOR a particular account of the rise of this church, the reader is referred to their letter to the Association for 1796. This church lies westerly from Springfield, distant about one hundred and six miles.

Extracts of letters from the Churches, for 1796.

Butternuts. "Destitute of a pastor, desire the assistance of our Brethren in the ministry, our number small, our progress slow, we have lost one of our members by death the preceding year."

First Otsego. "We remain stedfast in the truth, endeavoring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bonds of peace. We are not ignorant of the devices of satan: but yet, though satan desires to sift Christ's followers as wheat, we believe the Saviour prayeth for us still; so that we can sing of mercy and judgment."

Aurelius. "In comfortable circumstances the Lord is pouring out his spirit."

First Litchfield. "We have great reason, in this infant settlement, to bless the Lord for his goodness unto us. At present it is not with us as in months past, not many conversions lately among us, but brotherly love abounds and we enjoy peace among ourselves. We have no pastor."

Exeter. "It appears to be a night season with us, and through much tribulation we march but slowly; nevertheless we rejoice that there is among us a general desire to press forward."

Springfield. "We remain stedfast in the doctrine of the Gospel. The Lord hath blessed us with a spirit of love and union the year past, and some additions have been made to the church."

Second Burlington. "It gives us pleasure to see God hath planted churches, and

"gives the sweet breathing of his holy spirit to revive the heart of his children."

Otego. "We wish to continue our union with the churches; desiring that they may be enabled to contend earnestly for the faith. We enjoy a comfortable union, endeavoring to withstand the wiles of the adversary, believing that we shall reap if we faint not."

Charlestown. "We retain the same sentiments in divine things as when we last addressed you: We have to lament that coldness too much prevails among us at present. A small addition has been made to our number the year past. We are feeble, and have many trials to pass through. Brethren pray for us, that we may have grace and wisdom given us to walk as becoming those professing godliness."

Scipio. "The great Captain of our Salvation, from motives originating in himself, has seen fit, not only in the government of providence to cause this land which not long since was a waste howling desert, inhabited only by untutored savages and beasts of prey, to be peopled with civilized beings; but he is now spreading the knowledge of divine truths among us: God has in a glorious manner within a few months poured out his spirit here; our frolicking chambers have become praying houses, and our young people in some of these parts are now running together to bless and praise God's holy name. About fifteen months ago a few Baptist professors from different churches, residing in this town met in conference to form an acquaintance and obtain fellowship with each other. We continued our conferences until the October following when we sent for a council, and obtained the help of two Elders and some Brethren who gave them fellowship as a church in gospel order. We have had considerable additions since."

Second Otsego. "We rejoice that the Lord reigns and that his gracious providence is over all his works, and that he takes peculiar care of his people who are the purchase of the blood of Jesus, and for his own Glory's sake nourishes, supports comforts and cherishes, all who put their trust in him; and though he is pleased to lead his people through great tribulation; yet his rod and his staff shall comfort them, and their robes shall be made white in the blood of the Lamb. Though we have often to mourn here, we hope to rejoice hereafter. We trust the Lord is with us, and we believe he will conduct us through our trials and bring us at last to Glory."

Third session of the Otsego Association, holden at Fairfield on the first Wednesday in September 1797.

Wednesday, September 6th, 10 o'clock, A. M. Association met. Introductory sermon from John xv, 16, by Eld'r James Bacon. Letters from the churches were read and the following account of the state of the churches was taken:

Dismissed	55	Added	358
Excluded	11	Diminished	71
Died	5		
	—	Increase	287
	71		

For the circular letters the reader is referred to the printed minutes for each year.

Eight churches and three ministers were added to the association at this session. It was a very comfortable time. The people of God rejoiced in the flourishing of the Redeemer's kingdom, in this wilderness.

Accounts of the churches received into fellowship at this time.

SECOND LITCHFIELD.

November 10th 1796, met at the house of Aaron Peabody to converse on religious subjects, when several told their experience. They had several meetings after this, until Feb. 7th 1797 when they met, agreed upon articles of faith and covenant and voted to send for a council to inspect their doings.

Accordingly a council, consisting of the churches in Fairfield Palatine, 2d in Burlington, and the first in Litchfield, convened March 10th, 1797 at the house of B'r Cole, in Litchfield: when after inspecting their articles and covenant they unanimously gave them fellowship as a church in sister relation; their number was fifteen. This church lies westerly from Springfield distant about twenty-miles.

KORTRIGHT.

IN May, 1792, Warner Lake and his wife, who were members of Elder Gray's church, of Great-Barrington, moved their family to Kortright patent. They soon set up a religious meeting.

IN the spring of the year 1793, there appeared a considerable attention among the few scattered inhabitants. In July, Elder Gray by their request visited them, and baptized seven. Three more members from Elder Gray's church had lately come into the place. At this time they entered into covenant and on the 9th of July, 1793 Elder Gray gave them fellowship as a church: their number was thirteen. About this time B'r Lake began to speak to them in a doctrinal way. In the summer of 1794 the church called B'r Lake to ordination. October

30, 1794, the church in Great-Barrington and the church in Coeymans met in council, for the purpose of ordaining B'r Lake. After having enquired into matters which were necessary they proceeded on the following day to set him apart by the imposition of hands, which was done in the following manner: Eld. Gray performed the first prayer, and preached from 1 Cor. iv. 1. 2. Eld. Mudge prayed the ordination prayer and gave the charge. Eld. Gray gave the right hand of fellowship. The summer past there was something of a revival, and ten or twelve were baptized. Soon after the ordination a reformation began, which spread into Harpersfield, and about twenty were added to the church.

In 1797 another small revival took place, and sixteen were added to the church. This church lies southeasterly from Springfield, distant about 40 miles.

PARIS.

ABOUT the 20th of March 1796 Elder Eastman moved his family into Paris, and immediately set up a religious meeting. About the beginning of May the same year, he, together with baptist professors met in conference for the purpose of forming an acquaintance.

About the 18th of December the same year Elder Eastman being gone a journey, Elder Butler came into the place, and preached a fervent sermon which was accompanied with a divine blessing; a considerable revival took place and sixteen souls were hopefully converted.

March the 9th, 1797 they met and covenanted together to watch over one another as a band of brothers.

May 30th agreed to call a council for inspecting their order.

July 6th, 1797, a council convened at b'r David Wood's house in Paris, consisting of the churches in Whitestown, 1st Litchfield, Fairfield Palatine, Petersburg, 2d Burlington and Schuyler. The council, after duly enquiring into their circumstances and inspecting their articles gave them fellowship. Their number was twenty-seven. This church lies about west from Springfield, distant about forty miles.

NORTH CHURCH BURLINGTON.

IN June, 1795, Elder Ashbel Hosmer moved into Burlington and began to improve with the second church in that town. In October following he joined with the church as a member in full communion, but never was considered as the pastor of said church. He preached part of the time with a congregational society in the north part of the town, which society was the first in that part of the town that set up and maintained religious meetings. About

the beginning of February 1797 he requested and received a letter of dismission from the church. The said society finding that he was dismissed from the church requested him to tarry and preach with them, and a number of baptist professors having moved into the vicinity, and attended upon that meeting, he agreed to their request.

Feb. 9th, 1797, Eld. Hosmer, with the above mentioned baptists met in conference, and the following question was proposed: "Is it expedient for us to attempt to unite in covenant as a gospel church?" Answered in the affirmative. Six persons who had been baptized and one who had not related their experience, then conferred on the general principles of the baptists, and found a happy agreement.

May 15th, 1797, they again met and agreed to articles of faith and a covenant, and voted to consider themselves in future as a church of Christ. They likewise agreed to call a council to look into their order. They also voted to give Elder Hosmer a call to the pastoral charge of the church, to which he assented.

June 14th, 1797, the church in Springfield, 1st and 2d Otsego, 2d and 3d in Burlington met in council in Burlington, and after examining into their order gave them fellowship as a church in gospel order. The council likewise gave them fellowship in their calling Eld. Hosmer to the pastoral charge. Their number was fourteen. This church lies southwesterly from Springfield, distant about 28 miles.

SECOND RICHFIELD.

In the summer of 1796, Eld. Roots was preaching part of the time in the northeast part of Richfield, in the succeeding Autumn God was pleased to pour out his spirit on that small settlement, the people began to attend on conferences frequently, and a number were hopefully converted. Several of the brethren in the ministry frequently visited and preached among the people and baptized a number. In one of their conferences they agreed to consider themselves in the character of a church, they also voted to call a council.

April 26th, 1797, a council consisting of Springfield, Stuart's Patent, 1st in Richfield and 2d in Litchfield churches convened and gave them fellowship as a church in gospel order. Their number was sixteen. From this time until they joined with the association their number increased to twenty-seven. This church lies west from Springfield, distant about twelve miles.

AUGUSTA *alias* NEWPETERSBURG.

On the 15th of December, 1795, a number of

persons met in conference according to previous appointment, several persons gave a relation of their experience. August 16th, 1796, in conference Elders Bacon, Butler, Eastman and Holmes being present, a number of doctrinal propositions were discussed and agreed upon.

Oct. 27th, 1796, they agreed to send for a council. Nov. 9th, 1796, a council consisting of 1st Litchfield and Fairfield Palatine churches convened and gave them fellowship as a church in regular order. Their numbers were nine. This church lies westerly from Springfield, about forty miles distant.

WHITESTOWN.

A number of professors of the congregational denomination, in Whitestown, did, in the month of Oct. 1795, covenant together to hold up religious meetings. The February following Eld. Stephen Parsons, from Connecticut visited and baptized five of them: and in June 1796, having set apart a day for fasting and prayer entered into covenant to walk together as a church. Eld. Parsons being present on a visit assisted them to articles and covenant, gave them fellowship and administered the Lord's Supper to them the next Lord's day. Their number was seven. The September following Eld. Parsons moved to Whitestown and settled with them. This church lies northwest-ly from Springfield, distant about 40 miles.

FIRST HAMILTON.

A. D. 1795 a small number of people pitched on the head waters Chenango, about 100 miles west of Albany. They soon set up a religious meeting. June 24th, 1796 they met in conference at the house of B'r Samuel Payne, and gave a relation of their experience to each other; they continued their conference by adjournments until Aug. 19th, 1796, when a council met, and after proper inquiries advised them to examine their articles which they had previously drawn, and compare them with the articles of other churches, to which result they agreed. On the 29th of September, 1796, they sent for a council which convened on the 10th of Oct. 1796, consisting of the churches in Fairfield Palatine, 2d and 3d in Burlington and 1st in Litchfield. The council after a candid inspection of their doings gave them fellowship as a church in gospel order. Their number was 12. This church is situate from Springfield southwesterly, distant about forty-five miles.

We have not been able to obtain the letters for the year 1797, therefore we cannot present our readers with any extracts from them.

Fourth Session of the Otsego Association, holden at Franklin on the 5th and 6th of September, 1798.

Wednesday, Sept. 5th, at 10 o'Clock A. M.

The Association opened with public worship. A sermon from Romans x. 13, 14, 15 was delivered by Elder Parsons.

Letters from the churches were read, and the following account of the state of the churches was taken:

Dismissed 20	Added 308
Excluded 40	Decrease 68
Died 8	
Decrease 68	Increase 240, present year.

Three churches were added at this time. A very comfortable time. The presence of Zion's King was conspicuous. For the particular transactions at this meeting and the circular letter the reader is referred to the printed minutes for this year.

An account of the churches received at this Session.

SECOND NORWICH.

A number of Baptist professors who had removed from Nine Partners, did in the year 1795, set up and continue conferences until the 24th of Feb. 1797, when they received fellowship as a church in gospel order by the church in Hamilton. Their number was 14. This church lies southwesterly from Springfield, distant about 45 miles.

POMPEY.

In autumn, 1704, a considerable number of baptist professors in Pompey and Manlius covenanted to support the worship of God, in his own appointed ways. In 1797 several persons were brought to the knowledge of the truth. In October the same year Eld. Holmes from New York baptized seven persons, who were the first baptized in this country.

In Feb. 1798, a church consisting of fifteen members received fellowship. This church lies west from Springfield distant seventy miles.

OXFORD.

IN the month of Sept. Eld. Smith, with other baptist professors in the town of Oxford met in conference and agreed to form a church; October 4th, 1797, received fellowship by the church in Paris and first in Norwich. This church lies west from Springfield distant about fifty miles.

Extracts from letters of the Churches, for 1798.

Butternuts. "We mourn that our practice is "not more conformable to our principles. It "is a time of coldness, though not of entire

"insensibility; a comfortable union among the "brethren; some ardent desires with fervent "cries ascending the hill of God for the out- "pouring of the divine spirit, and the in- "gathering of souls into the kingdom of God."

1st Otsego. "Having obtained help of God "we continue until now; though we wade "through many trials yet a number appear not "discouraged; we have had some addition."

Aurelius. "God is good and deals in judg- "ment and mercy though not in anger. 'Come "over into Macedonia and help us,'"

1st Litchfield. "We enjoy a comfortable de- "gree of union; in this we have reason to "rejoice and give God thanks always, yet at "the same time we have reason to mourn our "unfaithfulness in so precious a cause; for we "are not insensible of the growing evils in the "land and in the church, particularly the "neglect of the worship of God, which has a "tendency to quench the holy spirit, is a vio- "lation of a divine command, gives the adver- "sary an advantage and causes the faithful to "mourn."

Whitestown. "We are happy to say that in "the midst of prevailing iniquity, we had a "small number whose faces appear to be set "towards Zion, and are seeking a city which "hath foundations: while we have reason to "mourn the low state of vital piety in this "place, and want of the powerful quickening "and sanctifying influence of the holy spirit; "yet we feel indebted to sovereign grace that "a measure of christian steadfastness possesseth "this little community, and we have hitherto "been preserved from any particular breach of "christian fellowship; and still enjoy a degree "of union in the worship of God, and in the "ordinances of the gospel among ourselves."

Burlington North. "We enjoy peace. We re- "joice in the advancement of the "glorious cause of our Redeemer in this wil- "derness; the happy prospect before us seem- "to promise much: if the blessing be not lost "by selfgratulation, or squandered away by "languor or diffidence, nothing can more retard "the progress of real religion, than ostentatious "views, or idle neglect of God's ordinances or "worship. The souls of our unconverted chil- "dren & neighbors are at stake! God hath in "former days, wrought gloriously for our help: "how unreasonable would it then be, for us to "provoke him to take away his presence from "us: our warmest wishes are for the continu- "ance of the divine presence with us and you."

Springfield. "It hath pleased the Lord to "continue among us the year past, a degree of

"love and harmony, for which we desire to be thankful."

Schuylcr and Whitestown "A low time in the church; yet notwithstanding the prevailing indifference among us, God has been kind, and we have had considerable additions."

2d Burlington. "Peace and harmony prevailing among us."

Oxford. "Brethren we think it a privilege, as well as duty, to make ourselves known to you, and tell what the Lord has done in this place, which but a few years since was a howling desert. But God has called together a number of his dear children (as we believe) & they united in the bonds of love, according to divine rule. Since we have embodied, we have passed thro' scenes of affliction and trials; but our situation at present is pleasant and lovely: we enjoy something of God's grace, and the smiles of his countenance, and we can truly say, the Lord is good."

Hamilton. This letter takes notice of the conduct of divine providence, in changing the howling desert into a fruitful field; and that they enjoy peace and amity among themselves, and trust that the Lord has seen fit often to give them his comforting presence and that it continues a comfortable time among them.

Otego. "God we trust has begun to return the captivity of Zion in our land, by sending forth his holy spirit among us, causing stout hearted sinners to bow before his word, and fall victims to sovereignty; being in some measure sensible that they were lost in sin and justly condemned by God's righteous law, and that he has by his matchless grace enabled some of our youth to speak of his goodness for his deliverance of their souls; while under the protection of heaven we do feel to acknowledge our imperfection. We have a comfortable union among ourselves at this time."

Charlestown. "Continue stedfast in sentiments, no difficulty, a small addition."

Scipio. "The Lord has seen fit to preserve us in union and made some addition, so that we have reason to bless his holy name; notwithstanding we live in the midst of Deists, infidels and opposers of christianity; yet we feel (with the assistance of God) to maintain the ground against all the assaults of earth and hell. The Lord reigns let the earth rejoice."

Paris. "The Lord has been pleased to make some additions to our number the year past, and at present we are not destitute of tokens

"for good, and blessed testimonies of the power and grace of Christ, so that we feel comfortable and stedfast."

1st Norwich. "General union and some additions."

2d Norwich. "Blessed be God where he has begun a good work he will carry it on unto the day of the Lord Jesus. We rejoice that this country which was but a little while since a pathless wild, inhabited only by savages and beasts of prey, has now become a mountain of praise to the most high God; and that there are so many baptist churches erected and erecting into an associated body."

2d Burlington. "It is a matter of grief to see religion opposed and ridiculed by the world in general, but how much more ought our sorrow to increase when we daily see those who are the professed followers of Jesus lightly esteem the gospel institutions, and can easily pass by religious duties. But we have some consolation from God's word, believing the Lord knows who are his; and that when Zion is purged her sons will come forth as gold that is tried. We have passed under many trials since our last interview, but God hath preserved us. We enjoy a comfortable union at present, our great complaint is general coldness, which is productive of a great neglect of religious duties."

Augusta Prays for the union, peace, harmony, and prosperity of Zion.

Kortright. "Brethren having spoken union with you, we wish to maintain our correspondence with you, from which we conceive so many advantages arise, especially in this day in which earth and hell are uniting their forces, and are directing their attacks against revealed religion. It is a time that calls for every soldier of Jesus, to make use of those weapons described by the Apostle, in defence of the truth; and as the token of God's displeasure hang over our land, it becomes every christian to lie near the throne of Grace, crying to God that he may avert those judgments if consistent with his will; that truth may spread; that anti christian delusions may fall; the powers of darkness tremble, and the children of God gain the victory through faith in Jesus' name. Our present circumstances are not very flattering, nor yet particularly discouraging. Some trials have attended us the year past, but in the midst of affliction God has remembered mercy, and we have some refreshings; upon the whole we can say we have joy in the midst of mourning."

Ed Litchfield. "We maintain the form of religion, and continue in union and brotherly love among ourselves."

Franklin. "We have a comfortable agreement among ourselves, but much wanting in those lively exercises that we enjoyed in years past."

Fairfield, Palatine. "With reluctance we inform you that it is a low time among us as to religion, and some trials; notwithstanding we hope to come off conquerors through Christ."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VI.—VINDICATION OF VOLUME FIRST OF THE COLLECTIONS OF THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY, FROM THE ATTACKS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

BY HON. HILAND HALL.

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES AND A LETTER, IN RESPONSE TO GOVERNOR HALL,

BY HENRY B. DAWSON.

In the former volume of these *Collections*, published in 1870, an attempt was made to embody in chronological order such authentic accounts as could be found of the proceedings of the different Conventions of the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants, prior to the establishment of the State Government of Vermont, in 1778. No original Journals of those Conventions could be found, and information in regard to their proceedings was sought for in all quarters where it was thought it might be obtained. Among the sources from which information was procured, were the fourth volume of *The Documentary History of New York*, the published Journals of the New York Congress of 1775, the Connecticut *Courant*, published at Hartford, for the year 1777, Mr. Slade's *Vermont State Papers*, the manuscript papers in the offices of the Secretaries of State at Albany and Montpelier, and a Manuscript copy, from what was believed to be an authentic copy of the Journals of several Conventions in 1776 and 1777. The sources from which the accounts of these proceedings were obtained were distinctly indicated in the publication itself, either by introductory statements or foot-notes, so that the verification of each part, and the credit to which it was entitled, could be conveniently tested by historical students.

The number of the New York Historical Magazine for January, 1871, edited by Henry His. MAG. VOL. X. 4.

B. Dawson, Esq., contains a very sharp and bitter criticism on this part of the Society's volume, in which he assumes to have discovered numerous errors and falsehoods of so flagrant a character as, in his view, to justify him in making a charge of intended deception and fraud on the part of the Committee of Publication.* He claims that their work is not a fair account of actual proceedings, but is a "reconstructed record" got up by the Committee for the purpose of placing the conduct of the Vermonters, in their early controversy with New York, on a more favorable footing than their original proceedings would warrant, and that their publication is therefore "entirely useless as an authority in historical enquiry." This charge of fraud in the publication, if well-founded, not only deprives it of historical authority, but ensures the just condemnation of the Committee of Publication by all lovers of honesty and truth.†

The chronic propensity of Mr. Dawson to treat such opinions as do not coincide with his own, as founded in dishonesty and crime, must be well known to the readers of his Magazine, and some of them may have noticed that this propensity becomes peculiarly active and violent whenever any question of Vermont history is concerned. He has, in his Magazine, habitually sought to stigmatize Vermonters by branding them with opprobrious epithets, calling them "renegade Green Mountain Boys," "secessionists," "nullifiers," "traitors," "thieves," etc., etc.; and it has also seemed impossible for

* The only approach to a charge of fraud that there is, in the criticism referred to, is that contained in these words: "6.—The interpolation of a line, assigning a motive for the sudden attempt of Heman Allen to withdraw the insurgents' Petition and Remonstrance from before the Continental Congress, was simply a piece of impertinence on the part of the Editors, and is a fraud on those who shall read these re-constructed Minutes: there is no such reason assigned, in the real Minutes, as written by the Secretary of the Convention."

On page 10 of this *Vindication*, as the reader will perceive, Governor Hall admits that such an interpolation has been made in the Society's printed copy; and if the interpolation of words, whether adversely controlling the sense or otherwise, in the same character as the original text and without a word of explanation or caution to the reader, is not "a fraud on those who shall read that reconstructed paper, I do not understand what the meaning of the word 'fraud' is.— If Governor Hall will ask the District Attorney of Bennington-county, that official will tell him that such an interpolation in any document would be, in law, a forgery; and if the Society's Committee of Publication is wise, it will, in this instance, remember the story of the monkey climbing the pole, and maintain, hereafter, a more prudent silence.

My readers can judge between the Magazine and the Governor, in this case.—H. B. D.

† The Governor's conclusions, in this instance, entirely agree with those of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE—a conviction, on such a charge, would necessarily invalidate all title to respectability—and as he has admitted the entire truth of the Magazine's charge of interpolation, I am happy in the knowledge that the Governor, as well as the Magazine, will look elsewhere, hereafter, for an authoritative copy of the documents under review, than in the Society's *Collections*.—H. B. D.

him to notice the work of a Vermonter without, as in his present article, impugning the motives of the writer, misrepresenting his statements, and charging him with unfounded delinquencies.* This continued exhibition of his bitter hostility, together with the seriousness of his present charge against the integrity of Vermont history, must be our apology for a somewhat extended examination of the grounds on which he founds his criticisms.

Mr. Dawson commences his present strictures by stating that, in their publication, the Society "employed a *copy* instead of the *original manuscripts*." It is true that copies only were employed, and for the reason which is fully declared in their publication, that no originals could be found. Parts of the proceedings of several Conventions were found in newspapers, and in other publications, and in different manuscripts, as before stated, the most important of the latter being a copy of the proceedings of several Conventions, furnished by the Hon. James H. Phelps, of West Townshend, Vermont, which manuscript, and the use made of it, are particularly mentioned in the publication itself. The copy, as Judge Phelps informed the Committee, was made by him in 1852, from the back part of an old account-book, in which Doctor Jonas Fay, who had been Clerk of some of the Conventions, had made charges against his patients for medical services. The book was in the possession of Judge Phelps but a short time, and he was unable to give any certain account of what became of it, though he thought it might probably be found in the possession of some of Doctor Fay's descendants. Inquiries were made for it, in quarters where it was thought most likely to be found, but without success, and it was accordingly stated (page 49) that it was "not known to be now in existence.†"

Mr. Dawson, in his criticism, undertakes to show the inaccuracy of the Society's publication by comparing it with what he calls "the original *Minutes*, as left by the Secretary who wrote them;" but he does not state the form in which those "original *Minutes*" have been preserved, or how or where he obtained them, or give any description of them, or specify any evidence of their authenticity.‡ As the Society's publication

shows that it was made from *copies*, because no originals could be found, and as what he claims as the original *Minutes* must have come recently into his hands, it would seem to have been no more than fair for him to give some account of his newly-discovered manuscript, before condemning others for not following it, and thus also enabling others, as well as himself, to form an opinion of what his new discovery really was, and to judge of the credit to which it was entitled. It might possibly turn out that Mr. Dawson has not in his possession "the original *Minutes*" of any of these Conventions, but only copies,—perhaps only the same book from which Judge Phelps copied—the entries in which were certified—not as "*original Minutes*," but as *copies*—sometimes with the words "Errors excepted," as may be seen in the Society's publication at pages 13, 15, 16, 20, 34, 37, 42.* But, whatever may be the character of the manuscript by which Mr. Dawson calls in question the correctness of the Society's publication, it will be found, on examination, that several of the most important defects which he names have no existence in point of fact, and that the residue of them are so trivial and harmless as to preclude any idea, in an unprejudiced mind, that they could have been made for any sinister purpose whatever, much less for that which Mr. Dawson supposes, of enhancing the credit of Vermont at the expense of New York. In an account of some twenty different Conventions held during a period of twelve years, from 1765 to 1777, which covers over fifty pages of

sent, nor is it, now, necessary to gratify his idle curiosity. The Magazine plainly described its authority as "the original *Minutes*, as left by the Secretary who wrote them;" and, whatever may be the failings of the Magazine, it has not yet been obliged to resort to falsehood, in order to bolster up a bad cause—Governor Hall will understand me.

I know of what I write when I say, as I do say, that the Magazine's words meant what they clearly indicated as their legitimate meaning—its authority for condemning, as unfaithful, what the Society had published, was "THE ORIGINAL MINUTES, AS LEFT BY THE SECRETARY WHO WROTE THEM;" and if that description shall not be satisfactory, the Governor can make the most of what he assumes to be the deficiency of his information.—H. B. D.

* The Society's published version of the *Minutes* referred to, were printed from a copy of Judge Phelps's copy, of somebody else's copy, of "the original *Minutes*, as left by the Secretary who wrote them;" and that precious manuscript, before the printers were allowed to see it, was further filtered through a portion of the Committee and doctored up, so as to make it less disagreeable to some Vermont palates, by the interpolations and alterations in the text to which the Magazine referred. It would not have been prudent to entrust in such hands any paper which could possibly make against the pre-conceived ideas of such a Committee; and if the gentleman who was then the honored President of the Vermont Historical Society and a member, if not the Chairman, of the Committee who sent this disputed volume to the press, were now alive, Governor Hall could learn from him not only just why some things were not done, of which the Governor is now so noisy, but, also, just why some others were done, concerning which THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has yet said nothing.—H. B. D.

* [NOTE, BY GOVERNOR HALL.] *Historical Magazine*, I., x., Supplement, 199; II., I., 184; v., 345-347 and 599-401; and vii., 181.

† Reference is made, concerning what THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE really said of the shortcomings of the copyist and proof-readers of the Society's version, to the copy of the Magazine's article, which has been re-produced on page 64, post.

‡ If the reader can discover any wickedness in what he shall find there, or much difference from what the Governor has, himself, said concerning them, I shall be very much surprised.—H. B. D.

§ It was not necessary for the Magazine to anticipate any such doubts as those which Governor Hall has pre-

the volume, and includes the names of more than two hundred different persons, many of them several times repeated, the industry of the critic has enabled him to discover three or four instances in which he claims that either the christian or surname of an individual is wrongly given, and nearly as many in which he says the day of the proper month is erroneously stated, but none of them changing the character of the proceedings in the smallest degree. These, and such like errors, which may be found in almost all publications, and even in the critic's own article—all of which would have been readily accounted for by an impartial reader, as innocent mistakes of the copyist or of the type, with other charges which are unfounded in fact—make up his indictment against the Society for fraud in their publication.*

Mr. Dawson, after stating that "a merely casual glance at the reconstructed record has testified us [him] that it is entirely unreliable as "material for history," proceeds to specify what he terms the "more important errors, in this very "important portion of the volume" of the Society, under separate and distinct heads, fourteen in number, each of which we will now proceed to notice in its order. We shall be obliged to occupy more space in the investigation than we could desire, from the necessity we feel of copying most of the critic's complaints in full, that we may not be accused of doing him injustice in stating them, as well as to exhibit to our readers the temper, or, as the lawyers would call it, the *quo animo*, of his production.

We give SPECIFICATION No. 1 as near as may be, *verbatim et literatim*, as follows :

"1.—The Warrent for the first meeting, dated, according to this version, 'ARLINGTON, 10th 'Decr. 1775' was really dated 'ARLINGTON, '20th Decr. 1775;' and the third article of the "same Warrent, instead of providing 'To see if "the Law of New York shall have free circulation where it *doth* infringe on our properties, "or Titles of Lands, or Riots (so called) in defence of the same,' as indicated in this volume, "really provided 'to see if the Law of New "York shall have free circulation where it *doth* "not infringe,' etc., a distinction with a difference, which will be useful to those who shall "study the temper of the Vermontese of that "period, with due attention."

The Convention, of which the notice in the Warrant dated at Arlington was given, was to be holden at Dorset, the sixteenth of January, 1776, and it was certainly of no moment what-

ever, whether it bore date the tenth or the twentieth of December; * and in regard to the other supposed error complained of by Mr. Dawson, we fail to see what "the distinction with a difference" can possibly be. No question depending on the language of the article respecting "the free circulation" of the law of New York appears to have been voted upon. The Convention resulted in a Petition to the Continental Congress, to be allowed, for the preservation of their land-titles, to serve against Great Britain, under the Congress, as inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants, and not under New York, of which Petition the critic afterwards takes special notice. The omission of the word "*not*" in the Society's publication, if it really was an omission, was doubtless an error of the copyist or the printer, and would have been so regarded by any one not anxiously seeking a pretext for fault-finding.†

No. 2.—Under this specification, Mr. Dawson charges that Oliver *Evits*, and not Oliver *Everts*, was an "Assistant Clerk of the Convention of "January 16, 1775," and that it was James *Hard*, and not James *Hurd*, who "served on "the Committee to whom the third Article in "the Warrent was referred." Well, it may be that Mr. Dawson is right. Both the Assistant Clerk and the Committee-man were persons unknown to fame, and it is impossible now to ascertain exactly how they wrote their names, for to this day *Everts*, *Hard*, and *Hurd* are names of many families in Vermont, and *Evits* is rarely, if indeed ever, used except incorrectly for *Everts*; but what shall be thought of a critic who shall gravely found a charge of fraud against respectable persons, on the discovery of so slight a variation in the spelling of the names of two obscure individuals, who had probably been dead for more than half a century?‡

* The question was one of *accuracy* in the Society's version, and the necessary consequences which depend on accuracy, therein—nothing more. If the Society's version is *inaccurate*, it is necessarily unreliable as an authority, in history: if it is *accurate*, then it may be considered as such an authority. It was for the purpose of instancing such inaccuracies, and thus of impeaching its authority and usefulness, that the Magazine thus referred to the error of the date of this Warrant, without stopping to inquire whether or not this change of date was otherwise mischievous.—H. B. D.

† If there is no difference between the words "where it *doth* infringe" and "where it *doth not* infringe," then Governor Hall's remarks are sensible: but if there is such a difference, the Society's version is a falsification of the truth, to that extent; and the Magazine's notice of it was, to the same extent, justifiable.

My readers can judge between us.—H. B. D.

‡ The reader will perceive, by turning to the copy of what the Magazine really said on this subject—page 64, post—that no such "charge of fraud against respectable persons" as Governor Hall has here mentioned, nor any other "charge," of any kind, except one of *inaccuracy in copying a document*—the exact truth of which charge the Governor does not deny—is to be found, in connection with

* The reader is referred to page 64, post, for what the Magazine said on this portion of the subject, in the criticism which has so much excited the Governor's indignation.—H. B. D.

If we were to follow the example of the critic in cavilling at trifles, we might call his attention to errors of date and of spelling in that part of his own article already noticed, of as great significance as those he charges upon the Society's publication. Thus, in his second specification, he speaks of the meeting at Dorset of which the before-mentioned notice had been given, as having been held "the sixteenth day" of January, 1775," when in fact it was not held till January, 1776, one year after, which is quite as important an error as that complained of by him in the alleged change of date from the twentieth to the tenth of December. Again, in his two first specifications, he uses three times a word which we have not been able to find in any modern dictionary in our possession, viz. the word *Warrent*. We suppose Mr. Dawson wrote the word *Warrant*, with the letter *a* in the last syllable, and that the heedless typesetter changed it into an *e*, three times repeated, which makes it quite as great a blunder as the supposed change of the name *Hard* to *Hurd* by mistaking the letter *a* for the letter *u*. We are not so uncharitable as to charge Mr. Dawson with intentional fraud in this matter.*

Charge No. 3 is, that in the Petition to Congress, which was adopted at the January Convention of 1776, before-mentioned, the order of the King in Council making Connecticut-river the boundary between New York and New Hampshire, was recorded in the Minutes of the Convention "as of the date of the 4th of July, 'A. D. 1764': but that in the Society's "*reconstructed Minutes*," the date is given as the 20th of July, 1764. We do not believe the date was recorded as of the fourth of July in the *original Minutes*, but if it were, it was clearly a clerical mistake, which ought at once to be corrected. The official certified copy of the Order which was sent out from England to Lieutenant-governor Colden, and which he pub-

lished to the settlers, by Proclamation, the tenth of April, 1765, is found in the office of the Secretary of State at Albany, in Volume XCII of Colonial Manuscripts, at page 122. Copies of it are in the fourth volume of *The Documentary History of New York*, at page 574; in Volume III. of Belknap's *New Hampshire*, page 389; and in Slade's *Vermont State Papers*, page 19, all with the date of the twentieth of July, 1764. That date is also given in all histories that treat of the matter. The date of the Declaration of American Independence might as well be stated to have been the twentieth of July, as that of the King's Order to have been the fourth of that month.*

The next specification of Mr. Dawson is as follows:

"4.—In the same Petition and Remonstrance, reference was made, as duly recorded by the Clerk of the Convention, on the Minutes of the Convention, reference was made to the aggregate body of 'Land Traders' whom the Vermontese were then resisting: in the reconstructed *Minutes*, by interpolating the words 'of New York,' those who have controlled the volume before us have managed to secure a new weapon for their use, in their contest with the phantoms, *from New York*, which have so long haunted them."

The words "reference was made," seem to have been interpolated in this specification. Should not Mr. Dawson call somebody to account for this act of *re-construction*? If the reader will examine the publication complained of, he will find that the phrase "Land Traders 'of New York'" is used three times in the Petition, twice on page 17 and once on page 18. In the first instance, "*the Monopolizing Land 'Traders of New York'*" are charged with being instrumental—after the petitioners had obtained and settled on Grants from New Hampshire—in procuring the King's Order of July, 1764, changing their jurisdiction to New York.

this particular subject, in any portion of what the Magazine said concerning the volume under examination; and he will perceive, too, that the Governor, in this portion of his *Vindication*, at least, has manufactured a falsehood, for the purpose of misrepresenting the Magazine, and without possessing a shadow of truth for a foundation for his untrue statement.

The reader may ascertain something of the Governor's standard for ascertaining who are "respectable persons," from this instance of his own respectability, as a writer of history.—H. B. D.

* The *evident errors* of the press, in the Magazine's *own words*, to which the Governor refers, cannot excuse those errors in the Society's versions of the *words of others*, which are not evident and cannot be ascertained without resorting to other works; nor can they be justified, under any circumstances nor to any extent. They are errors which escaped the observation of both the proof-reader and the printer; and, as such, I condemn them. The Governor's *charity* is not desired; and he can say of those errors as much or as little as shall best suit *his own purposes*.—H. B. D.

* The date of the King's Order, *per se*, has nothing to do with this matter; and all the Governor's words, on that subject, are thrown away. The only question was the *accuracy* of what purported to be a copy of a particular document—the written *Minutes* of a particular meeting—and I repeat what the Magazine said, before, that the Society's copy was *inaccurate* and, as a copy of the *Minutes* referred to, it is worthless.

The Committee had no right, in any case, to alter a word in any document which it printed: when it violated that well-known rule and altered the text of the document, ever so little, without even noting such alteration in a foot-note, it committed a double wrong—that of altering and that of not noting it—for which there can be no valid excuse, whatever, Governor Hall to the contrary notwithstanding. If the Committee desired to correct an error which existed, in the document, the only way which was open to it was to leave the text unaltered, and append a foot-note, with its own initials, presenting the truth, as it understood it, in its own words.—H. B. D.

In the second place, that "*the Land Traders of New York petitioned the then Governor of that Province for Grants of Land,*" and obtained Grants of land occupied by the petitioners. In the third instance, the petitioners speak of "*the unhappy disputes which have happened between those Land Traders of New York*" and the petitioners. The words above given in Italics are exact quotations from the Petition.

The pith and substance of this complaint (No. 4) is, that by inserting the words "*of New York*" after those of "*Land Traders,*" *one time too many,* "those who have controlled the "volume" have constructed "a new weapon" with which to combat New York. It must be a sufficient answer to this complaint, that the *weapon*, whether useful or not in a fight with New York, is by no means a *new* one, but is a weapon that was in existence a long time before the Society's publication was thought of. In Slade's *Vermont State Papers*, published in 1823, pages 61 to 64, the Petition will be found with the words "*Land Traders of New York*" inserted three times precisely as in the Society's publication. The Petition is also printed in the *Rural Magazine*, published at Rutland, by Decatur Samuel Williams, for the month of May, 1795, (Vol. I., p. 259) with the obnoxious words "*of New York*" following "*Land Traders,*" in all the places where it is found in the Society's volume. The complaint, therefore, of the critic, that "those who have controlled the volume "before us have managed to secure a *new* weapon for their use, in their contest with the "phantoms from New York," is altogether unfounded, the weapon being at least seventy-five years old.

It seems not a little remarkable that Mr. Dawson, who had the *State Papers* of Mr. Slade before him, while he was preparing his criticism, as will hereafter be seen, should have failed to look into the Petition in that volume. If he had done so, he would have seen that the Society's Committee had nothing to do in constructing the supposed new weapon, and might thus have been spared the unpleasant duty of making a false charge against them. That he heedlessly neglected to notice so obvious a source for information on the subject, certainly cannot serve to strengthen any reputation he may now have for being a thorough and impartial searcher after historical truth.*

* It was no part of "Mr. Dawson's" duty, nor was it any part of the Committee's, to turn to Slade's *State Papers* for the purpose of "doctoring" any manuscript, in order to make its contents more agreeable to any body. As I have said, before, it was the Committee's business to re-produce the *Minutes* as it found them—the text of those *Minutes* should have remained unaltered—and if the Committee desired to show its superior learning, by a tilt with the author of those *Minutes*, it should have displayed that learning in its foot-notes, over its own initials.—H. B. D.

But there could be no motive whatever for "those who controlled the volume" to insert the words "*of New York*" in the manner complained of, for their insertion or omission could not alter the sense of the Petition, in the slightest degree. Mr. Dawson has not condescended to state in which of the three places of the Petition the words "*of New York*" have been *interpolated*. It could not have been where the Land Traders were first mentioned, because it would have then been indispensable to state what Land Traders were intended, and the words "*of New York*" would be necessarily used. It could not have been in the second instance, because the words "*that Province,*" which follow "*Land Traders*" in the same sentence, could refer back to no other word but "*New York,*" which must have been previously used. It must, then, have been in regard to the third, in which the offence was charged, and what is the offence? It is this, that after the term "*Land Traders of New York*" had been twice used in the Petition, the same Land Traders had, in Mr. Dawson's manuscript, been designated as "*those Land Traders,*" and that the Committee had improperly added to "*those Land Traders*" the obnoxious words "*of New York.*" Every one will readily see that "*those Land Traders*" of Mr. Dawson were the identical "*Land Traders of New York*" which had been previously mentioned, and that the additional words, "*of New York,*" did not, and could not, change the meaning of the language in the slightest degree. But if the additional words had been *newly* inserted, as charged by Mr. Dawson, the idea that they could in any way have been used as a "*weapon*" against New York must be set down as a mere "*phantom*" of the critic's own "*haunted*" imagination.*

SPECIFICATION No. 5 is in the following words:

"5.—The *official signatures* of the Chairman and Secretary of the Dorset Convention of the "sixteenth of January, 1776, which this version "of the *Minutes* presents, in the record of the "same Petition and Remonstrance, at the foot of "the nineteenth page of this volume, *are not in* "the original *Minutes, as left by the Secretary* "who wrote them; and, to those who are unacquainted with the facts, this strange error, of "either the Editors or the Printer of this volume, "will serve to destroy the usefulness of the entire

* As I have said before, the question is one of *accuracy in copying*: nothing else. I insist, in that connection, that if the Committee had no right to *change* a word of the text, by substituting another for it, its right to *add* any words is quite as invalid—it had no more right to *add* the words "*of New York,*" anywhere, in what purported to be the *Minutes* of a meeting, than it had to *change* a date, in the same paper.—H. B. D.

"entry, and to mislead those who are groping, in this dark subject, for the exact truth of the matter."

The *Italics* in this quotation, as well as the capitals, are the critic's, not ours. In making this charge, Mr. Dawson must have forgotten to take even his "merely casual glance at the 'teachings of this reconstructed record,' with which he commenced his notice of it, for the charge is wholly without foundation, in fact. The conclusion of "the Petition and Remonstrance" is, indeed, on the nineteenth page, but it ends with the words, "as in duty bound, 'your honors' petitioners shall ever pray," without any *signatures* whatever—"official" or otherwise. It is followed, near "the foot of the 'nineteenth page,' by the proceedings of the Convention which adopted it, which proceedings are concluded and certified towards the middle of the succeeding page. The publication, in this respect, is entirely without error. The proceedings of the Convention of the sixteenth of January, 1776, are given precisely as found in Slade's *State Papers* and in the *Rural Magazine*, before referred to, and word for word, as copied by Judge Phelps from the manuscript before described, and which is presumed to be that which is now in the possession of Mr. Dawson. We venture to say that if he will allow the Society's publication to be compared with his own manuscript, it will be found to agree with it *verbatim et literatim*.

If the absolute falsehood of this charge was not seen by Mr. Dawson, he at least made it without any examination into its truth, and with a heedlessness of the reputation of others which cannot entitle him to any special commendation as a model of historical research and fairness. He must at least be content to accept for himself the sentence he so flippantly passed upon the Editors, and admit that this "strange error" of his should "serve to destroy the usefulness" and credit of his "entire" article.*

* If the two lines, at the foot of the nineteenth page of the Society's volume, in the form and type in which the Society has presented them, do not represent an official verification of what precedes them, they represent nothing; and Governor Hall may make the most of my assertion, in this instance, that his powers of invention shall permit.

I fancy that I understand the difference between the recognized form of an entry, in a Minute-book, of the names of the officers of a meeting and that of the official signatures of those officers, appended to a Minute, for the purpose of verifying it; and I say that, while the Secretary who wrote the Minutes of the Convention of July 24, 1776, as clearly understood that difference as I do, and practiced it, while making his entry, the ignorance of the Committee of the Vermont Historical Society, when it disregarded that difference and blundered into an error, in the case before me, was equalled only by the assurance of Governor Hall, in defending that error, and his impudence in charging "absolute falsehood" on those who have differed from him.

In using these strong words I say just what I mean and

The following is the next specification in order:

"6.—The interpolation of a line, assigning a motive for the sudden attempt of Heman Allen to withdraw the insurgents' Petition and Remonstrance from before the Continental Congress, was simply a piece of impertinence on the part of the Editors and is a fraud on those who shall read these re-constructed *Minutes*: "there is no such reason assigned, in the real *Minutes*, as written by the Secretary of the Convention."

Doubtless a reader of these strictures of the critic would infer from his language that the Editors he mentions had inserted in their publication certain words which did not belong there, in such a manner as to give their readers to understand that they formed a part of the original Journal. They have done no such thing. They have inserted words between brackets—[thus]—as an indication that perhaps an omission had been made in the journal, which those words would supply. This practice is quite too common to deceive any one. It is indeed always understood to amount to a statement that the words thus included in brackets do *not* form a part of the text; and it is presumed that few persons other than Mr. Dawson—and he perhaps only in an emergency—would think of founding a charge of fraud upon it.*

Heman Allen had been charged with the presentation of the Petition of the sixteenth of January, 1776, to Congress, and his account of his proceedings with it was entered on the Journal of the Convention of the twenty-fourth of July, following. His statement of the withdrawal of the Petition, thus entered, closed with the words, "the Petition not being ready at hand at that time," which seemed inconsistent with the fact of its withdrawal. On recurring to the Journal of Congress it was found that that body, on the

mean just what I say: if Governor Hall desires to be treated as I should have been glad to have treated him, he must show, in his conduct, that he is entitled to greater courtesy than I have, in this instance, extended to him.—H. B. D.

* There is no one who better knows the petty fogging of this paragraph than the writer of it; and there is no one who would sooner detect the exact character of the excuse, if offered by another, than he.

If the Committee had desired to explain the text of a document, as I have said before, a foot-note, over its own initials, afforded the *well-known* and *recognized* vehicle for doing so: if, however, from any cause, the Committee desired to insert such new matter in the text of an *unquoted* document, it could only do so, properly, by inserting that new matter, in *Italic* type and within brackets—if, as in the case before us, there was a "perhaps" in the case, a "query" (?) should have been added, within the brackets, to secure the reader from any misuse of the interpolated matter. Did the Committee adopt the usual and recognized course, in order to protect its readers from regarding as *Minutes* what was only—something else? No—H. B. D.

fourth of June, 1776, passed a Resolution in relation to it as follows :

"Resolved that Heman Allen have leave to "withdraw the Petition by him delivered in "behalf of the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants, *he representing that he has left "at home some papers and vouchers, necessary "to support the allegations therein contained."*

It probably occurred to the "Editors" that it was "the papers and vouchers" mentioned in the Resolution of Congress, rather than the Petition, which were "not at hand," and for that reason words to such effect were inserted in brackets, when the conclusion of Mr. Allen's account would be as follows :

"[Some papers and vouchers necessary to support the allegations in] 'the Petition not being "ready at hand at that time."'

For this suggestion in brackets, reference was made to the proceedings of Congress on the subject, in Slade's *State Papers* and the *Early History of Vermont*, so that every reader might know on what authority it was made, and judge for himself what credit ought to be given to it. It is of very slight importance whether the suggestion be considered as entitled to credit or not. It is but a mere suggestion and certainly furnishes no ground on which to predicate a charge of fraud.*

SPECIFICATION No. 7.—In the proceedings of the Dorset Convention of the twenty-fifth of September, 1776, which cover ten pages of the Society's publication, in which the names of fifty-one members and of thirty-five towns which they represented are given, Mr. Dawson has been able to find barely one grave error, and it is this, that Mr. Abraham Ives, instead of representing Wallingford, really represented N. Wal-

lingford. He announces his important discovery of this offensive act of reconstruction in the following grave language :

"7.—In the Dorset Convention of the twenty-fifth of September, 1776, 'Mr. Abraham Ives' really represented 'N. Wallingford,' 'wherever that town may have been : not 'Wallingford,' as these re-constructed *Minutes* 'would have us suppose."

Well, all we can say about it is that we have heard of but one township of Wallingford, in Vermont, and that in the list of members and towns of this Convention in Slade's *State Papers*, (p. 66,) and also in a similar list in the *Rural Magazine*, published in 1795, (Vol. I., 369.) Mr. Abraham Ives is made to represent Wallingford, precisely as in the Society's publication, and not N. Wallingford. As our critic requires N. Wallingford to be represented, "*wherever that town may have been,*" it seems he would have us suppose that Vermont was honored on that occasion by a carpet-bagger from some other State. Somewhat careless work this, for a critic in history.*

The seven remaining specifications of error discovered by Mr. Dawson relate to the Convention of the fifteenth of January, 1777, at which the independence of the New Hampshire Grants was declared. At the commencement of the Journal of this Convention, as given in the Society's publication, p. 37, it was stated that a part was taken from Slade's *State Papers*, and the residue from the manuscript furnished by Judge Phelps. Ira Allen was the Clerk of the Convention, and the manuscript of Doctor Fay, from which Judge Phelps copied, does not purport to have been recorded by Doctor Fay, but to be a *copy* from that of Ira Allen, as may be seen at p. 42. Judge Phelps did not copy from

* Governor Hall having admitted the truth of the specification, the charge of inaccuracy necessarily goes with it: whether or not the Committee thereby inflicted "a fraud" on those who shall read these re-constructed *Minutes*, others can determine as well as I, on examination.

The fact is a very simple one. Heman Allen reported to the Convention that a certain Petition which had been presented to the Congress, at Philadelphia, for reasons assigned, was to have been withdrawn from before that body: that a Motion to that effect, permitting that withdrawal, was duly entered on the Minutes of the Congress; but, because the Petition itself was not "ready at hand, at the time," it was not procured, in form, and so could not be returned to the Convention, with his Report. It is evident that the want of the "papers and vouchers necessary to support the allegations in" the Petition, may have influenced Mr. Allen in making the request for the withdrawal of the Petition; but that gentleman did not see fit to make that fact known, in his Report to the Convention; the Secretary made no mention of it, on his *Minutes*; and no one except Governor Hall would have thought of doing differently—least of all would any one, except himself, have interpolated the words under consideration in a form to entirely change the tenor of the entry, as he has done.

If Governor Hall had read the entry dispassionately he would have seen that Mr. Allen's words: "the Petition

"not being ready at hand at the time," referred only to the reason for the non-return of the instrument to himself, by the Secretary of the Congress, not, as the Governor assumes, to the Motion for its withdrawal from before the Congress.

For the reason, therefore, that the Committee had no right whatever to meddle with the text of the document, either by omission, or interpolation, or alteration, and for the further reason that, by its interpolation, the Committee has changed the character of the entry and may mislead its readers, as to its meaning, it has inflicted "a fraud on "those who shall read these re-constructed *Minutes*," whether the publication of that stern fact shall please the Governor or not; and whether he shall like it or not, it does not become him to put on any airs concerning it.—H. B. D.

* Governor Hall may suppose what he pleases: the *Minute*, as presented in the Society's volume, is *not correct*; and just there is the offense of which the Magazine complained.

Possibly, if the Governor had desired, he could have found the missing town among the sixteen towns, East of the Connecticut-River, which the same "Green-mountain Boys" unsuccessfully attempted to gobble from New Hampshire—a series of communities and an attempt at fraud, in the Vermontese of that day, which the Governor, very conveniently, says nothing about.—H. B. D.

Doctor Fay's manuscript that portion of the proceedings which had been printed in Slade, but made notes of the points in which he saw they varied, and from his notes a few supposed errors of the type in Slade were corrected. In a single instance, of no great importance, the text in the *State Papers* was preferred to the copy of Doctor Fay, for reasons which will be given hereafter.*

In further proof of the supposed dishonest purposes of the Editors of the Society's publication,† Mr. Dawson insists that they have made two men represent *one* town in the Convention, when, in reality, they were the representatives of *two*—each of a separate town. This grave charge is introduced as follows :

"S.—In the Westminster Convention of January 15, 1777, this version of the *Minutes* of 'that body would have us believe that 'Lt. Leonard Spaulding' and 'Lt. Dennis Lockland' jointly represented 'Dummerston,' and that the town of 'Putney' was not represented in that Convention, by any one: the fact is, that 'Dummerston' had only *one* delegate—'Lieut. Leonard Spaulding'—; that 'Putney' *was* represented in the Convention; and that 'Lieut. Dennis Lockland' was *her* Delegate, instead of Dummerston's."

We are very glad Putney as well as Dummerston was represented in this Convention. It adds to its importance by showing that a larger number of towns participated in making the Declaration of Independence than had been supposed. Thanks to the critic for furnishing the "Vermontese" with this "new weapon for their use in the contest with the phantoms from New York." The error in the publication was

copied from Slade's *State Papers*, where we suppose it must have been innocently made, by either the copyist or the printer. Lest Mr. Dawson's authority be doubted, we add that in this case he has stated the fact. The Vermont *Almanac and Register* for 1795, printed at Windsor, by Alden Spooner, confirms Mr. Dawson's statement.*

SPECIFICATION No. 9 charges that *Joseph Williams*, and not "Josiah" Williams, represented Pownall in this Convention, which is doubtless true, as we find the name given as Major *Joseph Williams* by both Slade and Spooner. "Josiah" was a wrong reading of the manuscript copy, not chargeable to the Editors.†

Mr. Dawson's next specification is as follows :

"10.—The re-constructed *Minutes* of the same Convention present a formal introduction of 'seven lines, to the Report on what is, in fact, Vermont's Declaration of Independence—' certainly, as far as Vermont is concerned, an instrument of the first importance, as material for history—the original *Minutes* of the Convention itself, which constitute the original record of the paper, presented no such introductory matter, nor any other—our friends of the 'Committee to the contrary notwithstanding.'"

It was stated by the Committee, at the commencement of the proceedings of this Convention of January, 1777, at page 37, that the part of the Journal which is here complained of, was copied from Slade's *State Papers*; and if Mr. Dawson looked into the Declaration of Independence, as printed in that volume, he must have found those seven lines precisely as in the Society's publication.‡ He was not a stranger to

* The way in which the Committee manufactured the version of the *Minutes* of the Convention of the fifteenth of January, 1777, as that process has been described, by Governor Hall, in this paragraph, is very interesting; and it will serve, very well, to show just what that made-up version of those *Minutes* is really not worth, "as an *authority*, in history," and how justly the Magazine condemned it.

I am quite sure the readers of the Magazine, with this confession* before them, will agree with me, when I say that what thus purports to be a copy of a document, which copy has been *manufactured*, as mosaic is manufactured, from fragments of Judge Phelps's "notes of the points in which he saw" something differed from something else, and fragments of Slade's *State Papers*, as the Magazine pointedly said of it, is "entirely useless, as an *authority*, in historical enquiry."—H. B. D.

† As no such charge has been made, by any one, in connection with this portion of the Society's volume, Governor Hall is quite welcome to all the sympathy which he can secure from such a fraudulent misrepresentation of the truth as this is.—H. B. D.

* I say "confession," because what Governor Hall has herein called Judge Phelps's "notes of the points in which he saw they" [what he copied from and Slade's *State Papers*] "varied," the Committee was pleased to call, in its volume, "the manuscript of the Hon. James H. Phelps."—H. B. D.

* As the Governor has been pleased to admit that the Committee's version of the *Minutes* under consideration is *inaccurate*, to the extent of this "Specification," at least, it is fair to suppose that that distinguished Vermonter will also admit the necessary consequence—that, to that extent, at least, the Committee's version is entirely useless, as "an *authority*, in historical enquiry," as the Magazine asserted in the paragraph under review.—H. B. D.

† The same stubborn truth which Governor Hall encountered in what he has designated "Specification" No. 8, has again forced him to admit, in this paragraph, that the Committee's mosaic is *inaccurate* and, to that extent, at least, "useless, as an *authority* in his enquiry."—H. B. D.

‡ As I have said, before, it is no part of my business, now, as it any part of the Committee's, to enquire what Governor Slade had written on the subject under consideration. The Committee was not writing a narrative of the proceedings of the Convention of January 15, 1777; and it did not concern that Committee, in the particular duty which it had before it, what any body had said concerning the Convention, except the Secretary of that body, in the recorded *Minutes* of its proceedings. It was simply an impertinence, on the part of the Committee, therefore, to dovelain seven lines from Slade's *State Papers* into what they would have their readers believe are the *Minutes* of the Convention of January 15, 1777; and no one knows the truth of what I say better than the venerable apologist of these wrongdoers.—H. B. D.

Mr. Slade's work. In his subsequent Specification, No. 12, he speaks of Mr. Slade's "well known Vermont State Papers," and proceeds at once to make an important quotation from that work. The first six lines of the quotation are from the same page (69) on which the above "formal introduction" complained of is printed. We are, therefore, justified in assuming that Mr. Dawson did know, very well knew, that his proscribed introductory matter had been in print in that "well known" work for nearly fifty years. But with this knowledge he chose to treat the origin of those seven lines as a mystery, and to speak of them as if "his friends of the Committee" had surreptitiously foisted them, for some sinister purpose, into their volume.* He asserts, positively, that "the original Minutes of the Convention presented no such introductory matter." We deny his authority thus to speak. We deny that he has in his possession the original Minutes of this Convention, and therefore controvert his assertion that the introductory matter was not in the original Minutes. We confidently believe it was there, and shall continue in that belief until Mr. Dawson proves the contrary by the production of the original Minutes.

We suppose the manuscript, which Mr. Dawson calls the original minutes, is the book of Doctor Fay, which was seen and copied by Judge Phelps, as before stated. Of this Convention of January, 1777, Ira Allen, and not Doctor Fay, was the Clerk; and at the end of its proceedings in Doctor Fay's book, as copied by Judge Phelps and printed in the Society's volume, page 42,† it is certified, not as the original Minutes, but as "A true copy from the original."

The introductory matter complained of, is in the following words:

* If it will please the Governor, I will prick not only this bubble of his blowpipe, but others, in various parts of his *Vindication*, by remarking that I do not remember that I have had any occasion to refer to Slade's *State Papers* for at least five years past; that I do not remember of having seen a copy of that "well known" work during the past five years; that I am very sure that I have not opened a copy of it since the Society's version of the *Minutes* was originally sent, as "copy," to the compositors who "set it up," in type, for the printers.

I own a copy of the book in question; but the last time it was alluded to, in conversation, or thought of, by me, if my memory does not deceive me, was when one of the Committee of Publication of the Vermont Historical Society's first volume of *Collections*—that under consideration—was my welcome guest, on my own premises.

Will Governor Hall please to understand me, and to tell no more falsehoods on the subject now under notice?

† A few lines above, Governor Hall said, "Judge Phelps did not copy from Doctor Fay's manuscript that portion of the proceedings which had been printed in Slade, but made note of the points in which he saw they varied, and, from his notes, a few supposed errors in Slade were corrected"—the supposition of the Committee was thus its standard of authority; and both the Manuscript which Judge Phelps "did not copy" and Slade were alike discredited.

"To the honorable Convention of Representatives, from the several towns on the West and East side of the range of Green Mountains, within the New Hampshire Grants, in Convention assembled:

"Your Committee, to whom was referred the form of a Declaration setting forth the right of the inhabitants of said New Hampshire Grants to have to form themselves into a separate and independent State or Government, beg leave to report, viz.:"

That these introductory words were in the Report as originally made to the Convention, there can be no reasonable doubt, and we think as little that they would be copied into the Journal, as was the introductory matter to the Report of another Committee, on the next page of the Journal. This "formal introduction" is found in a copy of the proceedings, published as long ago as 1823. It seems much more likely that they were omitted by Dr. Fay in his copy from Ira Allen's *Minutes*, either by accident or from the belief that they might be properly left out, than that any one had undertaken to prepare them without authority to be inserted in Mr. Slade's publication. They were, indeed, merely formal, and do not alter the meaning of the proceedings, in any degree whatever; and why Mr. Dawson, even if he had been ignorant of their antiquity, should undertake to magnify their insertion in the Society's volume into an offence against historical integrity, is a question which he alone can solve.*

* With the evidence before me, already, of the desperation of my venerable friend, I need feel no surprise at the demonstration which he has made in the paragraph before me.

The reader of the Committee's version of the Report in question will very readily perceive that that Report opened with the words: "The Committee appointed to bring in a draught of a Declaration, setting forth the right of the inhabitants of that district of land, commonly called and known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants, have, to form themselves into a State or independent Government;" and no one but such an one as the venerable vindicator of the last Committee's blunders would have supposed that it was necessary for the Committee of the Convention, after it had thus opened its Report, to re-commence that Report, as he would have us believe, least of all would that Convention's Committee, after reciting the fact that it was "appointed to bring in a draught of a Declaration," re-commence its Report; contradict that recital; and, nine lines below, coolly recite an antagonistic fact, that it had been appointed to consider "the form of a Declaration," drawn up by somebody else, rather than "to bring in a draught of a Declaration," from its own capable pen.

If Governor Hall and his associates had been competent to discharge the duty which properly devolved upon them, as the Society's Committee on Publication, they would have let the record of the opening of the Convention, "according to adjournment," on "Friday morning," form a distinct paragraph; and then, opening another paragraph with the next subject, they would have done as the Clerk of the Convention did, and copy the Report of the Committee, *in extenso*, as a portion of the *Minutes* of the Convention's proceedings, without enquiring what either Governor Slade or any other person, not members of the Committee, might be pleased to have said on the subject, and

The next CHARGE OF RECONSTRUCTION, is as follows:

"11.—In the same important instrument, as originally recorded, a most important extract from the Journals of the Continental Congress, certified by the Secretary of that Congress, was introduced, as the foundation of the Convention's proposed action on that subject; in the reconstructed Minutes, the record of that Resolution is changed in its terms, and the verification of the Secretary is altogether omitted—a curious and significant coincident."

The part of the Society's work, here complained of, is copied literally from Slade's *State Papers*, without diminution or addition, as Mr. Dawson well knew, and if it contains evidences of "reconstruction," he also knew they were of too great antiquity to be chargeable to the Committee of Publication. The "important extract from the Journals of the Continental Congress" is the Resolution of that body of May 15, 1776, which is copied from Slade, in the following words:

"Resolved, That it be recommended to the respective Assemblies and Conventions of the United Colonies, where no Government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs, has been heretofore established, to adopt such Government as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and of America in general."

Mr. Dawson's charge is quite indefinite, but on thorough examination we are satisfied it can be no other than the discovery, by him, after diligent search, that the word "*heretofore*" which precedes the word "established," in the Resolution, and which is thus copied from Slade, is printed "*hitherto*," in the Journal of Congress. We are unable to find any other change in the terms of the Resolution. To be sure this does not make the slightest change in the meaning of the Resolution, the Governments which had been "*heretofore* established" being those and those only which had been "*hitherto* established." But Mr. Dawson considers this altogether harmless change made in print nearly fifty years ago, which there could never have been any motive for making, and which could not have been otherwise than accidental, as of sufficient import-

ance to sustain a charge of a dishonest purpose in "his friends of the Committee.*" The Committee, he would insinuate, wickedly changed the terms of the Resolution by substituting the word "*heretofore*" for "*hitherto*," and then to soften their condemnation, if detected, suppressed the Secretary's verification of the Resolution, which is in Slade (77,) but *not* in the Report quoted from Slade (69). These two acts, we suppose, constitute the pith and point, if there be any, of the "curious and significant coincidence" with which his charge concludes; and all this, when Mr. Dawson had full knowledge that the Committee had nothing to do in originating the changes of which he complains. He must have been extremely anxious to discover an occasion for fault-finding; or he could never have resorted to so flimsy a pretense for it.

CHARGE No. 12.—Mr. Dawson, in his Specification No. 12, makes a quotation of some length from the Declaration of Independence of the New Hampshire Grants, as printed in Mr. Slade's work,† which he styles Mr. Slade's "well known

* The Committee's version of the *Minutes* in question is inaccurate; and it does not help the Society's volume a particle, that Slade's *State Papers* are equally inaccurate; both are equally "useless, as an authority, in historical enquiry," simply because of their inaccuracy.

There is neither "a charge of a dishonest purpose" nor an "insinuation" of such dishonesty, in the "charge" under consideration; and Governor Hall is welcome to add the comfort which he can find in what is, in every respect, an untrue statement to the contrary.—H. B. D.

† Governor Hall can find nothing in the Magazine to warrant his statement that anybody, in that work, "makes" a quotation of some length from the Declaration of "Independence of the New Hampshire Grants, as printed in Mr. Slade's work," as there is no such quotation—the second instance of his misrepresentation of the truth, in this respect, in this *Vindication*.

Governor Hall admits that "it is doubtless correct" that the original manuscript, and Judge Phelps's manuscript, and Slade's *State Papers*, alike, contained certain specified words, in their respective versions of the *Minutes* of the Convention referred to; and, with peculiar coolness, he admits that, by an "act of the Committee," those words, thus specified, were omitted from what that Committee was pleased to publish as the Journals of the Convention which originally contained them.

I have denied, as emphatically as I could, that the Committee possessed any authority, whatever, or any respectable precedent, for either adding to, or omitting from, or making any change in, the phraseology of any document, to the extent of either a word or a sentence; and I repeat, here, that self-evident conclusion. I aver, here, without fear of respectable contradiction, that when the Committee openly disregarded every existing written authority, concerning the text of the *original draught* of the Declaration, and, simply because that Committee ignorantly "believed" differently, omitted a very important portion of that *original draught*, it forfeited whatever title of respect it might have possessed, previously, as trustworthy promoters of historical literature or as official representatives of a respectable Historical Society. If the Committee had a private theory of its own, which contradicted every existing authority, it could have ventilated that theory in foot-notes or independent essays, as I have already stated: the original standards of authority, whether in the original manuscript or in recognized copies, should have been regarded as sacred; and they would have been thus regarded, had any other than either incompetent or unfaithful hands manipulated them.—H. B. D.

without dovetailing into the record a floating fragment of some other Report—that of Heman Allen's Committee, for instance, to which this Committee's draught was referred in order "to prepare the Declaration for the press"—or the invention of some other blockhead, neither of which, by any possibility, belongs there.

My readers will determine what credit, as a writer of anything, Governor Hall is entitled to; and they will probably say, with me, that that cause must be a pretty poor one which can secure no stronger or better informed champion than he.—H. B. D.

"*Vermont State Papers*," to show that the new State was therein called "New Connecticut alias 'Vermont';" and he also refers to the before-mentioned manuscript, from which Judge Phelps copied, as containing the same two names, in which he is doubtless correct. In the copy in the Society's volume the words "alias Vermont" were omitted, and in their place were inserted two brackets, and between them was a space sufficient to contain the words, with a reference to a foot-note, thus—[]—which note was as follows:

"Here, in the copy in Slade's *State Papers*, the words '*alias Vermont*' are inserted; but that they could not have been in the original Declaration appears from the subsequent use of the name 'New Connecticut,' alone, and from the proceedings in the Convention of the 4th of June following, where the name was 'changed to 'Vermont.'—I. Allen's *Vermont*, 79; and H. Hall's *Vermont*, 239, 297."

Mr. Dawson discovers, in this suggestion of error in the two copies of the Declaration, a very great outrage. He says that both the before-mentioned copies—from Slade and Phelps—were "before the Committee when it issued this reconstructed record; and we confess," he says, "we are not acquainted with the principle which warranted the Committee, in the face of the two distinct copies of the original, to not only omit from its version of the *Minutes* the words '*alias Vermont*,' but to discredit the fidelity of the only text which it employed, by doubting the existence of the words elsewhere;" and he concludes his condemnation of this act of the Committee, with the sad reflection that "*Such is Vermont history, as written by Vermont historians.*" There was certainly no attempt of the Committee, in this case, to practice a deception in regard to the name; and, whatever may be thought of the credit to which their suggestion—that the "*alias Vermont*" was not in the original Declaration—is entitled, it is presumed there are few persons, besides Mr. Dawson, who will be disposed to treat it as furnishing ground for any special stigma upon Vermont or Vermont historians.

We will now proceed to give, as briefly as we can, some reasons for the belief that the words "*alias Vermont*" were not in the original declaration. In the language found in the *Vermont State Papers*, and quoted by Mr. Dawson, the territory of the New Hampshire Grants "is hereby declared, forever hereafter, to be considered as a separate, free, and independent jurisdiction or State; by the name, and forever hereafter to be called, known, and distinguished by the name of *New Connecticut*, alias '*Vermont*.'" The idea that the Convention should solemnly resolve and enter on their record

of the formation of a new State, for all time, that it should, forever thereafter, have and be called by two names, or by either of two, as any and every person pleased, is, certainly, in a very high degree, improbable. We suppose it more probable that the first name of the State was "*New Connecticut*" only; and, that after the name had been changed to "*Vermont*," the words "*alias Vermont*" were added by way of explanation that "*New Connecticut*" had become "*Vermont*" and without the expectation that the added words would be treated as part of the original record. That the "*alias Vermont*" could not have been in the original Declaration seems to be very clearly indicated by the evidence referred to in the foregoing note, which we will now introduce:

I.—The Declaration was adopted by the tenth vote of the Convention, after which "*New Connecticut*" is twice given in the Journal as the name of the State; and no further mention is made of "*Vermont*,"—thus:

"12th. *Voted*, That the Declaration of *New Connecticut* be inserted in the newspapers.

"13th. *Voted*, That Captain Heman Allen, Col. Thomas Chandler, and Nathan Clark, Esq., be a Committee to prepare the Declaration for the Press, as soon as may be.

"14th. *Voted*, That Doct. Jonas Fay, Col. Thomas Chittenden, Doct. Reuben Jones, Col. Jacob Bailey and Capt. Heman Allen be the Delegates to carry the Remonstrance and Petition to the Hon. Continental Congress and further to negotiate business in behalf of *New Connecticut*."—*Vt. Hist. Collections*, i., 41.

II.—The revised Declaration, as prepared for the Press, in pursuance of the 13th vote of the Convention, was published in the *Connecticut Courant* for March 17, 1777, which revised Declaration concludes in these words, "The said State hereafter to be called by the name of "*New Connecticut*."—*Ibid*, 47.

III.—The January Convention of 1777 adjourned to meet at Windsor, the fourth day of the following June. The proceedings of this Convention commence as follows:

"NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS Windsor, (alias) NEW CONNECTICUT; } June 4th, 1777.

"Convention opened according to adjournment," &c.—*Ibid*, 48.

The following are extracts from the Journal, of the further proceedings of this Convention; which were altogether inconsistent with the supposition that the name "*Vermont*" could have been, in any way, used at its previous meeting:

"STATE OF VERMONT,

"In General Convention,

"Windsor, June 4, 1777.

"Whereas, this Convention did at their Ses-

"sion in Westminster, the 15th day of January
"last, among other things declare the district of
"land commonly called and know by the name
"of the New Hampshire Grants to be 'a free
"and independent State capable of regulating
"their own internal police in all and every re-
"spect whatsoever, and that it should thereafter
"be known by the name of *New Connecticut*:'

* * * * *

* * "and *Whereas*, this Convention have
"been informed that a district of land lying on
"the Susquehanna-river, has been heretofore and
"is now know by the name of *New Connecticut*,
"which was unknown to them until sometime
"since the Declaration at Westminster aforesaid;
"and as it would be inconvenient in many re-
"spects for two separate districts on this Conti-
"nent to have the same name: —

"*Resolved*, Therefore, unanimously, that the
"said district described in the preamble to the
"Declaration at Westminster aforesaid, shall
"now hereafter be called and known by the
"name of '*VERMONT*.'"—*Ibid*, 50.

Afterwards, at the same Convention, the ques-
tion was proposed whether the members would
proceed to business on the former Declaration at
Westminster, "with this alteration only, that
"*instead of New Connecticut the said district*
"*should ever be known by the name of VER-*
"*MONT*;" and it was voted by the seventy-one
members present in the affirmative.—*Ibid*, 51.

The official proceedings of these two Conven-
tions of January and June, 1777, seem, conclu-
sively, to show that the first name given to the
State must have been "*New Connecticut*" only,
and that afterwards the name "*VERMONT*" was
substituted for it.

IV.—Further, Ira Allen, who, as we have seen,
was Clerk of the January Convention at which
this Declaration of Independence was made, gives,
in his *History of Vermont*, the substance of it,
in nearly the same language as it is in *Slade's*
State Papers, in which it is declared that the
State is "to be forever hereafter called, known,
"and distinguished by the name of '*New Con-*
"*necticut*," without any mention of "*Ver-*
"*mont*." Mr. Allen also afterwards says that the
name "*Vermont*" was given to the State by Dr.
Thomas Young of Philadelphia; and that the Del-
egates of the January Convention, who had been
appointed to present their Declaration to the Con-
tinental Congress,—"*Fay, Chittenden, Allen and*
"*Jones*,—returned from Congress, without the
"decision of that body on their Petition in be-
"half of the inhabitants, and brought with them
"Dr. Young's letter printed and published at
"Philadelphia, addressed to the inhabitants of
"VERMONT."—Allen's *Vermont*, 79, 86, and *Ver-*
mont Historical Collections, i., 375, 379.

The true history of the change of name is
doubtless the following: When the Delegates
arrived at Philadelphia, they learned that the
name "*New Connecticut*" had already been ap-
propriated for another territory, and saw the ne-
cessity of changing it. On consultation with Dr.
Young, they approved of his recommendation
of the name "*Vermont*," and agreed to favor its
adoption. In their Petition to Congress, which
was presented on the eighth of April, 1777, they
did not therefore mention any name for their
new State. Doctor Young's letter, with which
they returned to Vermont, bore date the eleventh
of April, 1777. All the Delegates were members
of the following June Convention, and partici-
pated in making the change of the name of the
State from "*New Connecticut*" to "*Vermont*,"
agreeably to their previous understanding with
Doctor Young.

We have perhaps occupied more space in the
consideration of this question than it deserved.
It has nothing whatever to do with the old contro-
versy between New York and Vermont, for, as
regarded that, the name assumed by the new
State was quite immaterial. We are unable to
account for Mr. Dawson's hot indignation at the
innocent suggestion of the Committee of Publi-
cation, in this matter, but upon the supposition
—which, indeed, derives support from what he
has long been attempting—that he considers him-
self engaged in a mission to discredit and con-
demn all Vermont history, whatever.

We trust sufficient evidence has been adduced
to show that the suggestion that the first name
of the new State was "*New Connecticut*," with-
out an *alias*, was not rashly and inconsiderately
made.

Mr. Dawson's 13th COMPLAINT, is as follows:

"13.—The latter part of the Report or Dec-
"laration of Vermont's Independence, is so per-
"fectly muddled—there are not less than five
"serious errors, affecting the sense, within the
"last six lines—that no one except an expert in
"Vermont history, can possibly understand it
"accurately."

The language in the Society's volume is the
same as in *Slade's State Papers*; and, as we are
unable to discover the "five serious errors"
spoken of, we pass over this Specification with-
out further notice.*

The final crushing CHARGE OF RECONSTRUC-
TION, is as follows:

"14.—Messrs. John Sessions and Simeon Ste-

* There are four, if not five, *inaccuracies*, notwithstand-
ing the Governor's ignorance, in the copy of the original
draught of the Declaration which the Committee has
published in this volume; and that ignorance does not
improve the Committee's version any more than it pro-
motes the Governor's candor or his good nature.—H. R. D.

"phens were the two Representatives from Cumberland-county, in the Convention of the State of New York, whom the insurgents in Vermont directed to withdraw from that body: Messrs. John Sessions and *Simon* Stephens are said, in this reconstructed record, to have thus officiated, as such Representatives, in the Legislature of New York, of which State Vermont was then a part."

We take issue with Mr. Dawson and say, that *Simon* Stephens was *not* a member of the New York Convention, as asserted by him, but that *Simon* Stephens (or rather *Simon Stevens*, as the latter name was usually spelled,) *was*. And for proof we refer him to Volume I, page 515, of the Journal of the New York Convention, published at Albany, in 1842, where, in the Journal for July 9, 1776, he will find the following entries, viz.:

"The Deputies from Cumberland-county attending, produced a Certificate, signed by James Clay, Chairman of the County Committee, and dated at Westminster the 28th of June last; whereby it appears that Colo. Joseph Marsh, *Simon Stevens* and John Sessions have been duly elected to represent said County in this Congress, and invested with full powers of legislation, &c.

"Ordered, That the Deputies from Cumberland-county take their seats."

It appears also from B. H. Hall's *History of Eastern Vermont*, pages 258, 263, and 787, that *Simon* and not *Simon Stevens* was the Delegate to the New York Convention, whom the Vermont Convention of January, 1777, "directed to withdraw from that body." B. H. Hall gave many particulars in the life of *Simon Stevens*, and among them his residence in Springfield. *Simon Stevens* represented Springfield in the Vermont State Convention of January, 1791, which adopted the Constitution of the United States. The Delegates signed the Resolution of adoption, and the original paper, with the autograph of *Simon Stevens*, is in the possession of one of the "Editors" of the Society's publication. So much for the overweening confidence of Mr. Dawson in *Simon* Stephens, and in his own infallibility.*

We have now gone through with the examination of all the evidence brought forward by

* Whether *Simon* or *Simeon* was Mr. Stephens's real name is immaterial to me. The *Minutes* of the Vermont Convention say that *Simon* was one of the Delegates, in the Convention of New York, from that portion of that State which is now Vermont; and when those *Minutes* were printed, by a Historical Society, under the editorial control of those who claim to be historical students, I had a right to expect that they should be printed with accuracy. Was the expectation an unreasonable one? Was it realized?—H. B. D.

Mr. Dawson to fasten upon the Vermont Historical Society the charge of undertaking to impose upon the public a false and fraudulent account of the early proceedings of the people of their State, in order, as he would have his readers believe, that their conduct towards the Government of New York, in their ancient controversy, might appear in a more favorable light than the facts as they really existed would warrant. We have seen that he has utterly failed to adduce a particle of proof to sustain the charge; that the most important of the changes alleged by him to have been made from what he calls "the original record," have no existence in point of fact, and that the residue are so trifling and insignificant as to preclude any supposition that they could have been made for any sinister purpose whatever, consisting of such changes as the substitution of one vowel for another in the spelling of the first or second name of some unknown person; by the use of one figure for another in a date of the month, or the omission or the insertion of an unimportant or synonymous word, which makes no alteration in the meaning—all of which changes any unprejudiced reader, if he noticed them, would at once have set down as accidental errors of the copyist or of the type—such errors indeed as an industrious critic might find in the most carefully prepared work—such as are, in fact, found in Mr. Dawson's own criticism quite as frequently as in the pages of the Society's publication which he condemns.*

The hostile temper of Mr. Dawson towards "the Vermontese," and his predetermination to find something to complain of against them, are as clearly exhibited in the language of his criticism, as its destitution of facts to sustain it is shown to have been. The standing programme of his Magazine, which is printed on its covers, states that it will contain, among other things, "Carefully prepared and impartial notices of New Books and Engravings, especially those relating to the History, Antiquities, or Biography, of America." If his present article on the volume of the *Vermont Historical Collections* is to be taken as a fair specimen of his "carefully prepared and impartial notices of new books," the aid to be expected from this department of his Magazine, in the elucidation of American history, cannot be very great.

After the full exposure which has been made of the fallacy of Mr. Dawson's criticism, it may be pleasant to read his concluding tirade against Vermont history and Vermont historian. It is as follows:

* My readers can judge between Governor Hall and myself, as to the merits or demerits of the several parts of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE's criticism of the Society's volume of *Collections*. I have no anxiety concerning the result.—H. B. D.

"There are many other errors which we have not space enough to allude to; but we have said enough to show how entirely useless this portion of the volume is, as *an authority*, in historical enquiry. It may serve the purpose for which it was probably intended among those who read the history of Vermont from the Vermontese stand-point; but to those who read history for the purpose of ascertaining what the truth is concerning those, within the recognized territory of New York, who refused obedience to the laws and public officers of the State of which they openly professed to be citizens—of those in fact, who led all others in the grave offence of secession from a recognized Government, exercising legal and publicly-recognized authority over them—some other authority will be requisite. These, probably, will not be contented with either Vermont history or Vermont historians, as the former is now written, and as the latter now write."

This is not a proper occasion for discussing with Mr. Dawson the merits of the old controversy between Vermont and New York, which ended in the acknowledgement of the independence of the former by the latter. Mr. Dawson, as often as he has taken occasion to assail Vermonters and Vermont history, has never got beyond the argument that is implied in the above paragraph, that the Vermonters were criminally wrong, because they "refused obedience to the laws and public officers of the State of which they openly professed to be citizens." It does not seem ever to have occurred to him that there might be an important question beyond that, viz.: *Whether the actual and threatened oppressions of the New York Government were not such as to justify their disobedience?* He does not appear to see that this question arises, in the case of New York against Vermont, precisely as it did between Great Britain and her Colonies; and that Vermonters did not, as he states take the lead of "all others in the grave offence of secession from a recognized Government, exercising legal and publicly-recognized authority over them," but only followed the example and lead of the American Colonies, in their secession from Great Britain,—the secession of the Colonies having taken place July 4, 1776, while that of Vermont did not occur until the following January. In this and such like condemnation of the Vermonters, he merely repeats the argument of the old English Tories against the Colonists, who, equally with the Vermonters, had refused obedience to the laws of a "recognized Government" to which they acknowledged themselves to be legally subjected. If Mr. Dawson should ever get beyond the point of calling the Vermon-

ters hard names, and should undertake to show that the conduct of the New York Government, in endeavoring to deprive the Vermont settlers of the lands they had honestly purchased and improved,* for the benefit of a set of New York city speculators, was right and just, and ought to have been submitted to, we shall be glad to see his evidence and read his argument. We are inclined to think he would find it rather an ugly business, and that he will not venture upon it.†

We are well aware that in any controversy with the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we Vermonters stand on greatly unequal terms. His article is extensively circulated through the country, while this refutation of it will be seen by comparatively few persons.‡ His hitherto unceasing hostility is not likely to be conciliated by this expose of the injustice and absurdity of his attacks, and we may expect a continuance of them, with perhaps increased violence. We shall probably be content to rest under any further imputations he may cast upon us, without reply. His seemingly uncontrollable propensity to impugn the motives and assail the integrity, as well as to misrepresent the conduct and argu-

* Governor Hall knows, very well, that the "Grants from New Hampshire" never possessed any more validity, in law, than as many Grants from the man in the moon would have possessed; and those who "settled" on those Grants only resorted to New Hampshire, for such Grants, for the same reason that purchasers of smuggled and stolen goods accept the risk of being caught with them in their possession, knowing, all the time, that they are, personally, quite as bad as the smuggler or the thief from whom, for a title of their real value, they had ventured to receive them.

† If the "settlers" referred to had desired to act honestly, they would have gone to the legal owner of those lands and honestly paid an honest price for them, as decency and the laws required; they were willing, rather, to be dishonest; and they went, instead, to the Governor of New Hampshire, who had neither moral nor legal interest in those lands, and paid such a price for a Grant of them as none but a thief, or a smuggler, or a Vermontese border-ruffian, would have recognized as an equivalent therefor.—H. B. D.

‡ Reference is made to the letter, addressed to Governor Hall, which is appended to this *Vindication*. In that letter I have met too general issue which Governor Hall has presented, in all its parts; and on the proffered presentation of evidence, on either side, which that letter inaugurates, I am perfectly willing to either stand or fall. The Governor understands my meaning: let him now present his case, with his evidence.—H. B. D.

§ Very possible Governor Hall may now have learned, for the first time, that THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has no desire to confine its readers to *one side* of any subject; and that any reputable opponent of its views may, generally, present his adverse arguments to its readers, in its pages, as fully and as fearlessly as he shall desire.

I know of no falsehood which can be dangerous while the truth shall have an equal chance with it; and Governor Hall seems, also to have acquired the same information and, consequently, he shrinks from the exposure, in the Magazine, of the fictions on which the early history of Vermont, as written by her own historians, has never ceased to rest. He dare not present, in that work, over his own name—although he has been urged to do so—what concerning Vermont's early pretensions and the early Vermontese, he says, elsewhere, simply because he knows that, very certainly, his neighbor would come and search him.—H. B. D.

ments, of those who fail to concur in his opinions and share his antipathies, must be well known to his readers, and we confidently trust they will be prepared to make due allowance for this unhappy weakness of his, and will estimate what he may say at just about its actual value.

MR. DAWSON'S LETTER.

HON. HILAND HALL,

DEAR SIR: I have pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of a pamphlet entitled *Vindication of Volume I. of the Collections of the Vermont Historical Society from the Attacks of the New York Historical Magazine*; and, as the post-mark indicates that I am indebted to you for it, I beg you to accept my hearty thanks for your attention.

You are not insensible of the fact that, during the past nine months, I have been an invalid, almost wholly incapacitated for labor, always in the hands of my physician, and absolutely required to abstain from all but the least laborious of my ordinary occupations; and, as I have suffered more severely, from intense pain, than ever before, during the present week, and, at this moment, write these words in pain which almost blinds me, I am not, therefore, in that trim, physically, which I desire to be in when I enter such a field of labor as, in this pamphlet, you have invited me to. If, however, I have correctly understood your *Vindication*, so called, either *something or somebody*—you seem to be uncertain which—has assailed a certain volume which the Vermont Historical Society has recently published and, possibly, the Committee who prepared it for the press: that, in the absence of any care for its bantling by either the Committee or the Society, you have volunteered, individually, to become the Don Quixote of the hapless volume; and that, like your great prototype, after having satisfied your untempered prowess on divers minor objects, you have sought your crowning honors by leveling your lance at a luckless machine which, in all weathers and under all circumstances, is expected to catch the passing breeze and to turn out its editorial grists to its readers, as long as its various parts will keep together and the old concern remain in running order. I say that this is my understanding of the purport of your *Vindication*; and if I have mistaken that meaning, in any respect, I assure you that it has not been from the want of care in reading it.

Neither my health nor my disposition warrant any attempt, on my part, to engage in any unnecessary controversy; and, among the last of those with whom I should seek a discussion which might be construed as an unfriendly one, would be such an one as yourself, whom I have always regarded as one of the most valued of my personal friends. But you have been pleased

to mention me, *by name*, in your *Vindication*; to arraign me, *by name*, on charges which no respectable man can allow to remain without notice; and to represent me, and my temper, and my conduct, both as an individual and as the conductor of a public press, in such a manner as, were your picture a faithful one, would induce me to loath myself as earnestly as you seem to desire I shall be loathed by others. I propose, therefore, as best I may, in my physical weakness and pain, to notice, very briefly, the various parts of your *Vindication*, in the order in which I have already referred to them.

FIRSTLY: as to the assailant of the Society's Volume.

On the cover, on the title-page, and on page 3 of your pamphlet, you refer, specifically, to "the *New York Historical Magazine*" as the assailant of the Society's volume; and, on page 3, I am said to be the Editor of that audacious maligner of the Society's reputation. But I assure you that I know of no such work: that I had never heard of any such work, until your *Vindication* told me of it: that, as far as my knowledge and information go, I am not aware of the publication of *any* Historical Magazine, under *any* title, in New York, during the past five years. You will allow me to suppose, therefore, that you have made a mistake in your averment: that, as a narrator of very simple facts, not difficult to be authenticated, you cannot, always, be relied on: that your statements, as history, are, sometimes, loose and, as authorities, without value.

On page 3 of your pamphlet, after having declared, over and over again, that something else was the offender, you suddenly introduce me, *by name*, as the attacking party from whose assaults the Society's volume has suffered so much as to require your individual interference. But I assure you that I am not sensible that I have ever made any such "attack" as you refer to; and if you can produce a scrap of either manuscript or printed matter, bearing either my name or my initials, in which any such "attack" as you have described, or any other, has been made, I will as loudly plead guilty to your accusation as I now deny your charge. You will permit me to suppose, therefore, that you have made a second mistake in your averment: that, as a narrator of very simple facts, not difficult to be authenticated, you cannot always be relied on: that your statements, as history, are, sometimes, loosely made and, as authorities, without value.

I beg your permission, however, before proceeding further in this review of your pamphlet, to suggest that, very probably, you intended to have said, when you said something else, that THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, edited by me and published at Morrisania, N. Y., in its number for

January, 1871, noticed the first volume of *The Collections of the Vermont Historical Society*, in which notice that Society was earnestly congratulated on the solid success which had attended its first experiment, as the publisher of a volume; and the hope was expressed, in that notice, that the financial result of the venture would be such as to warrant a speedy renewal of the attempt which had been made by the Society, in the publication of that volume, to make itself useful. The notice also alluded to certain changes which the Committee had made in the selection of proffered material for the volume, and heartily sustained the Committee in its latest choice; and it closed by pronouncing the volume "as creditable to the book-making faculties of the Committee as it will be acceptable to every Vermonters who shall look into it." I say you probably intended to say this, or something of the same tenor; but, unfortunately, you failed to carry out your intention, and, instead, in this portion of your *Vindication*, of being a mere narrator of naked facts, you voluntarily became—something else.

As I have said, both my health and disposition, at this moment, prompt me to seek quiet, rather than excitement, and repose, rather than conflict; but it is not my nature, either in sickness or in health, to allow such a knight as you are, in such a cause as this, to rumble over the country, in search of a victim, without, at least, looking at him, from behind my own pickets, as he passes on the highway—I would not think of approaching a Rorey O' Moore, when the chip is on his shoulder and the black-thorn in his fist, but, the ex-President of a Historical Society, after having occupied the gubernatorial chair of his State, who voluntarily becomes the knight-errant of such a cause as this, is entitled to my attention, if not to my sympathy. I shall take you as you evidently meant to be understood, therefore; and let your mistakes be carried to the credit of your infirmities and your anger; and this brings this review.

SECONDLY: to the "attack," no matter by whom, and to your *Vindication* of it, no matter how ill-tempered or ill-judged.

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for January, 1871, said, of the volume referred to, only as follows:

"5.—*Collections of the Vermont Historical Society*. Prepared and Published by the Printing and Publishing Committee, in pursuance of a vote of the Society. Vol. I. Montpelier: Printed for the Society. 1870. Octavo, pp. xix, 508.

"With the exception of a number of independent tracts, this volume is, we believe, the first extended publication by the Vermont Historical Society; and we earnestly congratulate

"that body on the solid success which has attended the experiment—may the financial result be as much of a success; and such as to warrant a speedy renewal of the attempt to make it self useful.

"After the preliminary papers, devoted to a record of the Society's Charter, By-laws, Membership, etc., the Minutes of those meetings of 'The Green-mountain Boys' which ultimately led to the formation of the State of Vermont, properly finds a place—a series of papers which, for historical importance to every Vermonter, has no existing equal.

"Unfortunately, however, in this case, the Society employed a copy instead of the original manuscripts; and, it has, consequently, fallen a victim, in several cases, to the incompetency of either its copyist or its proof-reader.

"Without noticing the multitude of changes which we have seen in the spelling and capitalization of the words, in the structure of the paragraphs, and in the general style of the work, a merely casual glance at the teachings of the re-constructed record has satisfied us that it is entirely unreliable, as material for history. As evidence of this, we need only refer to the following more important errors, in this very important portion of the volume.

"1.—The Warrant for the first meeting, dated, according to this version, 'ARLINGTON, 10th Dec'r, 1775,' was really dated 'ARLINGTON, 20th Dec'r, 1775;' and the third Article of the same Warrant, instead of providing 'To see if the Law of New York shall have free circulation where it doth infringe on our properties, or Titles of Lands, or Riots (so called) in defence of the same,' as indicated in this volume, really provided 'to see if the Law of New York shall have free Circulation where it doth not infringe' etc.—a distinction with a difference, which will be useful to those who shall study the temper of the Vermontese of that period, with due attention.

"2.—The 'Oliver Everts' who was one of the Assistant Clerks of the meeting, at Dorset, on the sixteenth of January, 1775, as indicated in this volume, was really 'Oliver Everts;' and the 'James Hurd,' who served on the Committee to whom the third Article in the Warrant, just noticed, was referred by that Convention, was really 'James Hurd.'

"3.—The Order in Council, relative to the Grants, referred to in the Remonstrance and Petition which was presented to the Continental Congress, in behalf of the insurgents, by Heman Allen, was really recorded—either accurately or otherwise—in the Minutes of the Convention at Dorset, of the twenty-fourth of July, 1776, as of the date of 'the fourth day of July, A.D., 1764:' the re-constructed

"*Minutes*, before us, presents it as 'on the 20th day of July, A.D. 1764.'

"4.—In the same Petition and Remonstrance, reference was made, as duly recorded by the Clerk of the Convention, on the *Minutes* of the Convention, reference was made to the aggregate body of 'Land Traders' whom the Vermontese were then resisting: in the re-constructed *Minutes*, by interpolating the words, 'of New York,' those who have controlled the volume before us have managed to secure a new weapon for their use, in their contest with the phantoms, from *New York*, which have so long haunted them.

"5.—The *official signatures* of the Chairman and Secretary of the Dorset Convention of the sixteenth of January, 1776, which this version of the *Minutes* presents, in the record of the same Petition and Remonstrance, at the foot of the nineteenth page of this volume, are not in the original *Minutes*, as left by the Secretary who wrote them; and, to those who are unacquainted with the facts, this strange error, of either the Editors or the Printer of this volume, will serve to destroy the usefulness of the entire entry, and to mislead those who are groping, in this dark subject, for the exact truth of the matter.

"6.—The interpolation of a line, assigning a motive for the sudden attempt of Heman Allen to withdraw the insurgents' Petition and Remonstrance from before the Continental Congress, was simply a piece of impertinence on the part of the Editors and is a fraud on those who shall read these re-constructed *Minutes*: there is no such reason assigned, in the real *Minutes*, as written by the Secretary of the Convention.

"7.—In the Dorset Convention of the twenty-fifth of September, 1776, 'Mr. Abraham Ives' really represented 'N. Wallingford,' wherever that town may have been; not 'Wallingford,' as these re-constructed *Minutes* would have us suppose.

"8.—In the Westminster Convention of January 15, 1777, this version of the *Minutes* of that body would have us believe that 'Lt. Leonard Spaulding' and 'Lt. Dennis Lockland' jointly represented 'Dummerston,' and that the town of 'Putney' was not represented in that Convention, by any one: the fact is, that 'Dummerston' had only one Delegate—'Lieut. Leonard Spaulding'; that 'Putney' was represented in the Convention; and 'Lieut. Dennis Lockland' was her Delegate, instead of Dummerston's.

"9.—In the same Convention, 'Major Joseph Williams' appeared for Pownal: not 'Major Josiah Williams,' as represented in this volume.

"10.—The re-constructed *Minutes* of the same

Convention present a formal introduction of seven lines, to the Report on what is, in fact, Vermont's Declaration of Independence—certainly, as far as Vermont is concerned, an instrument of the first importance, as material for history—the original *Minutes* of the Convention itself, which constitute the original record of the paper, presented no such introductory matter, nor any other—our friends of the Committee to the contrary, notwithstanding.

"11.—In the same important instrument, as originally recorded, a most important extract from the Journals of the Continental Congress, certified by the Secretary of that Congress, was introduced, as the foundation of the Convention's proposed action on that subject: in the re-constructed *Minutes*, the record of that Resolution is changed in its terms, and the verification of the Secretary is altogether omitted—a curious and insignificant coincidence.

"12.—In the original record of the same important paper, as well, it seems, as in the copy of it which Mr. Slade published in his well-known *Vermont State Papers*, it is said 'that the District of Territory comprehending and Usually known by the name and description of the N. Hampshire Grants of Right ought to be and are hereby declared forever hereafter to be considered as a Separate Free and Independent Jurisdiction or State by the Name & to be forever hereafter called and known and distinguished by the Name of New Connecticut Alias Vermont and that the Inhabitants' etc.: in the volume before us, it is said 'that the district of territory comprehending and usually known by the name and description of the New Hampshire Grants, of right ought to be, and is hereby declared forever hereafter to be considered as a separate, free and independent jurisdiction or state; by the name, and forever hereafter to be called, known and distinguished by the name of New Connecticut; [1] and the inhabitants' etc.—the blank space being illustrated with a foot-note, informing us that, 'here, in the copy in Slade's *State Papers*, the words 'alias Vermont' are inserted;' but that 'they could not have been in the original declaration appears from the subsequent use of the name 'New Connecticut,' alone, and from the proceedings in the Convention of the fourth of June following, when the name was changed to 'Vermont.' The manuscript copy of the original with which General Phelps had favored the Society and the published copy of the same which Governor Slade had presented in his *State Papers*, were both before the Committee when it issued this re-constructed record; and we confess we are not acquainted with the principle which warranted

"the Committee, in the face of the two distinct copies of the original, to not only omit from its version of the *Minutes* the words 'Alias Vermont,' but to discredit the fidelity of the only text which it employed, by doubting the existence of the words, elsewhere. Such is Vermont history, as written by Vermont historians.

"13.—The latter part of the Report, or Declaration of Vermont's Independence, is so perfectly muddled—there are not less than five serious errors, affecting the sense, within the last six lines—that no one, except an expert in Vermontese history, can possibly understand it, accurately.

"14.—'Messrs. John Sessions and Simeon Stephens' were the two Representatives from Cumberland-county, in the Convention of the State of New York, whom the insurgents, in Vermont, directed to withdraw from that body: 'Messrs. John Sessions and Simon Stephens' are said, in this reconstructed record, to have thus officiated as such Representatives, in the Legislature of New York, of which State Vermont was then a part.

"There are many other errors which we have not space enough to allude to; but we have said enough to show how entirely useless this portion of the volume is, as an authority in historical enquiry. It may serve the purpose for which it was probably intended, among those who read the history of Vermont from the Vermontese stand-point; but to those who read history for the purpose of ascertaining what the truth is concerning those, within the recognized territory of New York, who refused obedience to the laws and public officers of the State of which they openly professed to be citizens—of those, in fact, who led all others in the grave offence of secession from a recognized Government, exercising legal and publicly-recognized authority over them—some other authority will be requisite. These, probably, will not be contented with either Vermont history or Vermont historians, as the former is now written and as the latter now write.

"Following these *Minutes* are re-prints of several ancient tracts concerning the land-disputes; an extended series of papers, illustrative of the history of the Northern Campaign of 1777; and a re-print of Ira Allen's *History of Vermont*—we have not the means to compare the copies of the former with the originals nor with complete copies of them: the latter is not so scarce that any one of even ordinary means cannot employ the original instead of this copy; and a comparison of the two will, therefore, be wholly unnecessary—and a meagre Index closes the volume.

"We are not insensible of some of the differ-

ences of opinion which are said to have led to the re-production of some of the old tracts and Allen's *History*; and we are free to say that we approve the selection of materials, as it stands, rather than that which was originally proposed. The general good judgment of the Committee of Publication, in the choice, *per se*, of offered material, is amply apparent—we wish we could say as much for its accuracy of details, in using what it selected—and the very handsome volume which it has produced, is as creditable to its book-making faculties as it will be acceptable to every Vermonter who shall look into it."

It will be seen, by the sober reader, that THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE disapproved of the contents of only a small portion of the Society's volume—the first of the dozen articles which it contained—and that that disapproval was exclusively confined to the *inaccuracy of that particular article, as a copy of an unpublished paper*, which, "for historical importance to every Vermonter, has no existing equal," and deserved a better fate. It will be seen, also, that it was a matter of regret that, "in this case, the Society employed a *copy* instead of the *original manuscripts*"—the reason could have been assigned, why that *copy* was used, but was not—and, certainly, in no unfriendly spirit, it said that the Society, in consequence of its mistaken selection, "has fallen a victim, in several cases, to the incompetency of its copyist or its proof-reader."

It needs no argument to prove that, as the saying has it, "what is worth being done *at all*, by any one, is worth being done *well*;" and it is especially true that what is presented as materials for history, by a Historical Society, in a volume conducted through the press under its own authority, by its master minds, and bearing its own imprint, is expected to be *accurate* as well as *authentic*; and that it is *necessarily* without value, as materials for history or as a standard by which written history shall be tested, if its accuracy or its authenticity shall be successfully impeached. THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE averred, *as was its duty*, that the particular article to which it objected had not been accurately presented by the Society, in the volume referred to; and it also said of it, because of that inaccuracy, "that it is entirely unreliable, as material for history"—that it is "entirely useless," "as an authority, in historical enquiry." This is the gravamen of the offence against which you complain; and against this judgment of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE you direct the weight of your extended and angry *Vindication*. You gravely admit that both the Society and you have never yet seen the *original manuscript* of which that Society professes to have given a mere copy, in the article

which, "as an authority in historical enquiry," THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has condemned as inaccurate and untrustworthy; yet, ludicrously enough, you gravely defend that *copy*, with all its alleged and conceded inaccuracies, and insist that it is really worthy the respect, as such authority, which was originally claimed for it, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE to the contrary notwithstanding. You gravely admit, also, that THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has seen the *original manuscript*, and you actually pretend to describe it; yet the errors, in the Society's copy, which THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, after comparing that copy with the original, has carefully pointed out and described, are, ludicrously enough, treated, in your *Vindication*, with the highest respect, while the Editor of the Magazine is individually reproached, because they were thus carefully examined and condemned in the pages of that periodical.

If I ever lacked evidence of your entire incapacity either to narrate a fact or to write a history, accurately, I do so no longer; and, in your evident willingness to prefer, as "*an authority*," "in historical research," what you know and acknowledge to be an *inaccurate copy* of a document, rather than the original paper itself, when that original shall make against some pre-conceived notion of your own which that inaccurate copy can pander to and sustain, you voluntarily afford evidence, which no one can gainsay, of your own entire unfitness to judge of the merits of any historical question whatever. It matters not who your father was, nor what distinctions you may have personally secured, nor where you live—your studied attempt to bolster up what you know to be the shattered reputation of what the Society unwisely offered "*as an authority*," in "historical research," and to put "the guinea-stamp" on what is conceded, even by yourself, to be base metal, will be duly understood and receive its just condemnation from every one, every where, who knows the difference, in value, between a truth and a falsehood, and who cares to pick up a stone to cast at you.

The copy of the paper, under notice, which the Society published in its first Volume, is certainly inaccurate—you admit it to be so, in your *Vindication*—and it is, therefore, untrustworthy, "*as an authority*," in historical research." notwithstanding all you shall present in vindication of it: the strictures of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE are well founded and servicable, "*as authorities*," in historical research;" and what you have said, in your unwise remarks condemnatory of them, serves to expose the nothingness of your own pretensions rather than the weakness of the Magazine.

THIRDLY: as to your picture of what you conceive to be my "hostile temper towards 'the

"Vermontese," and my predetermination concerning them."

This is not the first time that I have heard of what has been industriously circulated as a report of my hostility to Vermont; and I notice the silly nonsense of the accusation, now, only because it affords another item of the sickly childishness of its last publisher. Vermont is neither more nor less to me than any other portion of God's foot-stool; nor do I, individually, care a whit more nor a whit less for "the Vermontese" than I do for the great body of my own townsmen, unto whom I am, personally, a stranger and who, personally, are strangers to me. Those of them who are honest and act like honest men, I most heartily respect, in Vermont and in Morrisania: those of them, whether here or there, who act like rogues and who roll a falsehood around, as a sweet morsel, under their tongues, whenever they can find a poor excuse for preferring it to the truth, at the same price, I have always condemned; and, while strength shall be spared to me, I expect to condemn all such, here and there, until my latest breath. Evidence which even you cannot gainsay—although you will, probably, attempt to belittle it—tells me that the great body of the early settlers of what is now Vermont, were nothing more nor less than lawless ruffians; and I make no new revelation when I repeat what that evidence has taught me. I have learned, from undoubted testimony, too, that *money was required* by those "Green-mountain boys," before they would interfere with Ticonderoga, notwithstanding what you claim to consider as their "country" imperatively demanded their prompt and energetic action, without it; and I have learned, also, that, thenceforth, until they established the legal independence of the State, the same peculiar "patriotism" which began and ended in themselves was the controlling power among them. They drove industrious settlers from their homesteads, seized their property, abused their persons, and, sometimes, did worse than all this, just as "the border-ruffians" are said to have done, in these latter days, in Kansas and the Far West; and they seized sixteen towns, East of the Connecticut-river, in New Hampshire, and I do not know how many, West of that river, in New York, and, year after year, ruled those who lived in those towns, not only without law but in open and impudent defiance of it. The authority of the King and that of the State—New Hampshire's quite as much as New York's—they resolutely disregarded; and when the Continental Congress, on their own application, gave judgment against them, they sought, in Canada, from the Royal Governor, that peculiar consolation and protection which, at that moment, their countrymen, under Washington and his subordinates, were manfully re-

sisting, in the field. All this, and more, you know to be strictly true; and you know, also, that when I offered to print your own statements of all these matters, those which might be true as well as those which should be untrue, to any reasonable extent, and entirely without any expense to you, you shrunk from the exposure of Vermont's early wickedness and from that of your own misrepresentations of that wickedness, which, you very well knew, was in store for you, and so preferred to let the early history of Vermont remain undiscussed and concealed from the world. *If you shall have reconsidered that conclusion, and are now disposed to present what you conceive to be the facts, with the evidence to sustain your averments, the pages of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE are open, for your use, for that purpose, at any time, to any reasonable extent; and I promise you, in such case, an unrestricted hearing, as to language, and limited only by confining you, in your publication of documents, in extenso, as evidence, to those which, hitherto, have remained unpublished. In such case, if my strength shall permit, I shall probably follow you, in order to ascertain and to report to the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, how much of truth and how much of untruth there shall be in your narrative; and I shall do so, in such case, fearlessly and without flinching.* I never saw anything, in history, which I was ashamed to look at, squarely, in the face; and I have never hesitated, in any of my researches, to follow the Truth, and to recognize her, wherever she has been pleased to conduct me. I am not now afraid to meet and to greet the Truth, in the examination and discussion of any portion of Vermont's early history nor in that of the doings of any of her lawless adherents: AND I RESPECTFULLY CHALLENGE YOU TO A CAREFUL AND HONEST DISCUSSION, ON EVIDENCE TO BE ADDUCED, OF THE SUBJECTS REFERRED TO—so dear to you and, if you speak truly, so loathsome to me—WHENEVER YOU SHALL BE INCLINED TO TAKE THE FIELD, ON THE TERMS WHICH I HAVE JUST MENTIONED.

You insist that the Colonial Governor of New Hampshire possessed legal authority to dispose of lands lying to the westward of Connecticut-river, within the territory of what is now the State of Vermont; that the various Grants by which, from time to time, he pretended to dispose of lands within that territory, were issued with competent authority, in due form, and fully vested the Grantees with legal titles to the lands so assumed to have been disposed of; and that those who were thus favored by him, as Grantees, became, in law and in fact, the owners of the several tracts of land which he thus pretended to convey to them.

You insist that the Colonial authorities in New

York possessed no authority, in law, to dispose of lands lying to the westward of Connecticut-river, within the territory of what is now the State of Vermont, or to require obedience to that authority or to the Laws of that Colony, by those who resided or sojourned therein; that, in any attempt, on the part of those authorities, either to dispose of those lands, or to enforce obedience from those who resided or sojourned therein, to oust those, as trespassers, who occupied those lands without having obtained Grants from the State, was oppression and tyranny, if not usurpation, and legally invalid; and that all such attempts were null and void, whether to dispose of such lands, or to oust trespassers therefrom, or to enforce obedience to their authority and to the public laws of the Colony, within the territory referred to, might have been and was resisted, by those who occupied that territory, properly and without offence against any law to which they were properly amenable.

You insist that the inhabitants and sojourners of what is now the territory of the State of Vermont, from 1765 until the recognition of the independence of Vermont, by New York, were law-abiding in their character and conduct; undoubted and unceasing friends of the cause for which Washington fought; and that, as undoubted and unceasing opponents of the King of Great Britain and his Parliament: you insist that there was nothing in either the character or the conduct of those inhabitants and sojourners, nor in the character and conduct of those who, either with or without that authority, represented them before the world, and were their mouth-pieces and spokesmen, which honest men, honestly and impartially judging, would either condemn or censure—indeed, you insist that those who cannot agree with you, in this opinion, are, themselves, the reason of that disagreement, unworthy of credit as writers of history, and unworthy of the personal respect of their neighbors, as men.

All these, and others, most venerable and most earnest vindicator, you have insisted in writing and in print—orally, also, when you could command an audience—and the time has come, before you shall have been called before your final Judge to receive His judgment on your case and Vermont's, as you have often presented them, to insist, on my part, to something beside your unsupported word shall be presented to the world, which you will so otherwise leave in ignorance on those subjects to sustain the several naked allegations which I have specified. I have asked, before, privately, for the authorities on which you have depended when you have made them; but they have not been sent to me: I have invited you

letter, to present your case and your evidence, in writing, to any reasonable extent, in order that I might print and traverse them; but you have shrunk from the proffered publication and the exposure which, you know, would have allowed it: I insist, now, that you shall either support the allegations which, in various forms and at various times, sometimes agreeably and sometimes disagreeably, you have so loudly proclaimed, with the evidence on which you have founded them, or that you shall sink, at once, to that merited contempt, among honest men, to the world over, which belongs, most surely, to the empty braggart and to him who willingly bears false witness against his neighbor. I insist on this, as a duty which you owe to me; I insist on it, as a duty which you owe to those who have hitherto honored you as a honest and earnest worker in the field of American History; I demand it, as a duty which you owe to me, since you have published in the world, concerning myself and my writings, what, in the continued absence of that sudden light which you so earnestly insist on, is being under your own bushel, I shall, otherwise, be constrained to brand as both a willing and a wicked falsehood.

I am not aware that I have overlooked any material portion of your *Vindication*, either in my foot-notes to my re-print of that *Vindication*, or in this, my general notice of it; and nothing remains for me, therefore, but to assure you that I am,

Very Respectfully, Yours,
HENRY B. DAWSON.

I.—THE "NATIONS" OF THE VERMIL- LION LAKE DISTRICT.*

The tribe of Indians who inhabit that section of the country known as the Vermillion Lake district, are called, in their native tongue, "Saw-on-da-gaw-we-nin-ne-wag," (*thick bush men*) which the early pioneer trader, from Canada, under the employ of the late American Fur Company and that of the North-west Company, erroneously interpreted, "Bois Fort," by which they are now known and designated from their brethren, the Chippewas. That portion of the people living under the protection of the United States Government, and who are entitled to the

benefits of the Treaty concluded in Washington, in the year 1866, number from nine to eleven hundred. Previous to that period, they received annuities with the other bands of Chippewas of Lake Superior, under the Treaty of the third of September, 1864; there being a full understanding between the parties that the amount received by the Bois Fort bands should be refunded whenever they sold their lands to the Government. But the Treaty of 1866 did not recognize any such arrangement.

The physical appearance of both sexes of this tribe is of a strong, hardy, and healthy constitution; but, like all other savage tribes, they are indolent, much addicted to sport and the practice of gambling. They will stake every particle of clothing they are possessed of; also, guns, steel-traps, kettles, dogs, medicine-sacks, in short, everything they possess in the world. They have been known to gamble, night and day, for forty-eight hours, without intermission, without sleep, and very little, if any, food. Whenever one party is dispirited, caused by adverse fortune, and the game likely to be drawn, the drum, accompanied by vocal strains, is resorted to by the winning party, the spectators keeping time in a bodily motion, to revive the drowsy gamester and tantalize the "Charm Spirit" of the unfortunates. They consider their brethren of Lake Superior their inferiors. Inasmuch as their brethren have lost the original ideas of the Manidos and the religion of their forefathers, and have adopted theories belonging to the white man, alone, so they no longer belong to the fraternity of the grand Me-da-we. No longer will they be consulted upon the next celebration of the grand Me-da-we. No longer will they solicit advice of the once dreaded Me-day, as to the best method of the initiation of a new member or the best promotion of the fellowship. All discussions in regard to their religion and the customs of their forefathers are ended. They are loth to business of any local matter, having any connection with the other bands belonging to the Lake.

There is no set of the Chippewa tribe of Indians more given to superstitious ideas than they are. While every tribe of Indians has held the notion that the spirit and the body of the dead have risen from the grave and appeared to the sight of some belated nocturnal pedestrian, and that groans, sighs, and whispers have been heard by some female while inside the inclosure of a cemetery, (perhaps, there, weeping over the grave of a beloved child or that of a once affectionate parent,) together with the general idea, prevailing among the various tribes, of the good and evil "Manido," and a hereafter, they, as a "supplement" maintain the idea, that a certain "ween-di-go" is to rise from the ground, in the

*From *The Bayfield Press*, Bayfield, Wisconsin, Vol. 1, nos. 35, 36, and 37. We are very free to say that we are not sufficiently acquainted with the asserted importance of Indian mythologies, to either understand the meaning or perceive the value and interest which are said to attach to this article; but we yield to the superior wisdom, in such matters, of our honored friends, and give it a place in our pages. H. B. D.

shape of a rock or a block of wood, or out of a lake, in a solid state, in Winter, in a cake of ice, from which, by an unknown process, take the shape and form of a human being; and, as occasion require, he will take size and height. While the process of transformation is progressing, the "ween-di-go" is stationary, either on some mountain-top or in some deep recess of a cave, from whence he will, occasionally, as if to try his strength, launch forth his menacing howls. When full-grown and acquired its full might, he will make a descent upon the nearest village, and, in a moment, devour every one within its reach. But, in most cases, this mighty "ween-di-go" has been frustrated in his designs and robbed of his prey, by open combat with famished Lo! who is gifted with a superhuman speciality. I will here explain, by an illustration, the means, and through what agency, a poor, miserable, famished Lo! will vanish and annihilate this wonderful and mighty "ween-di-go":

Baw-pin-wa-wa-ge-zig-wesh-cang, (*He who maketh the heavens laugh merrily*.) is a young man who has seen scarce twenty Winters. He is a general favorite throughout the camp; a successful hunter; and, in the chase, there are none to compete with him. But, in an evil day, the spirit of his successful career has changed. The displeasure of the good "Manido" is upon his head; and the evil ones have no sympathy for him, in his fallen greatness. How then is he to retrieve his misfortune? Adopting the advice of his aged parents, he, out of his scanty stores of dried venison, wild rice, and sugar, which his aged mother prepares, calls together the Medays, Cheesakees, and Nebekees of the camp, and sets before them the edibles, as prepared, an offering to the Manidos. As a preface to the feast spread before them, the aged father proceeds to explain the object of the feast is a good smoke at the expense of the young man. Shortly after the adjournment of the feast, Baw-pin-wa-wa-ge-zig-wesh-cang is sent for, to be present at the meeting of the Medays, Cheesakees, and Nebekees, they being convened in the wigwam of the chief Meday to discuss upon the matter on hand. Finally, it is concluded that it devolved upon the functions of the "Cheesakee" to operate in such cases. Accordingly, a Cheesakon is ordered to be erected for a receptacle for the different Manidos to be consulted. Toward the close of the day, the Cheesakon is under construction, and the last hoop is being bound, and it is done. The whole camp is anxious for the coming ceremony; and every man, woman and child is expecting to hear some fearful disclosure. At length, the Cheesakee has emerged from his wigwam and approached the crowd, which has become considerable in the vicinity of the Chee-

sakon, and enters. After a few preliminary exercises have been indulged in, by the Cheesakee the arrival of several Manidos is announced, and so manifested their arrival by a mingling of voices, inside of the receptacle. Silence, once restored, several questions are put to the visitor within, from the bystanders, which are answered by several at once, from within, so imperfectly and incoherently that nothing can be understood. Not satisfied with the answers given to the whys and wherefores of the disgrace of the once intrepid hunter, it is unanimously suggested that the great Meshecay be invited, and the others dismissed. Whereupon Meshecay drops, with a tremendous thud, inside of the receptacle, and is, in a moment, ready for business. The head Meday advances a few steps, to the side of the Cheesakon, and thus addresses the visitor within: "Meshecay, you are a wise man. Manido: you know everything: therefore, you must know why you have been sent for. You must speak the truth, for we are in trouble." At the close of this address, Meshecay proceeds to communicate the desired information, in the following wise: "Baw-pin-wa-wa-ge-zig-wesh-cang has been unmindful of his obligations to the good Manidos, who have been kind and favored him with success, for so many moons; nor has he offered his fattest and best doe to the 'Char' Spirit' of the chase. Therefore, his 'char' 'powders' have lost their virtue, and become worthless as dust. The Manidos are displeased, and will visit the people with famine and sickness." The head Meday, again addressing Meshecay, wishes to know by what means Baw-pin-wa-wa-ge-zig-wesh-cang could obtain forgiveness for his dereliction in duty, and thus conciliate the anger of the Manidos, and also to avert the impending danger. Meshecay thus replied: "He must make penance and fast so many days. He must retire into the forest, and, then, solitary and alone, commune with the Manidos, whose displeasure he has evoked upon his head." At the expiration of the appointed time he will be made to know what is required of him. Exit Meshecay. The night is moonless, and the stars above are shining dimly, when the young hunter sallies forth out of the camp, and, by a path seldom trod by human feet, enters the forest. When he has journeyed deep into the forest, to the bank of a sparkling brook, he lays himself down, his head resting upon the root of a pine tree, awaiting for the dawn of day, to select a spot suitable for his temporary home. Having well supplied himself with tobacco and a sufficient quantity of "ap-paw-ko-se-gan," and a pipe in his pouch, he resigns himself to his fate. For five days and nights was Baw-pin-wa-wa-ge-zig-wesh-cang in the greatest state of suffering; and, at the close of the sixth day,

amounted to extreme agony. At last, nature is exhausted, and succumbs to insensibility. In that state, he is ushered into the beautiful land of dreams, where he is fed by enviable hands; and invisible powers guide him through his rambles in that beautiful land. While surveying the wonderful landscape around him, there, as if by magic, rises before him a monstrous bird, at every wink of its eyes, emitting fire. Fearless, he stands facing the bird. Presently it spoke, and addressed him thus: "Son of the earth! thou hast faithfully performed the duty imposed upon thee by the Manidos, whose anger thou hadst evoked upon thy head, and upon that of thy people. The Manidos have sent me to meet thee, in this beautiful land, and give to thee and thy people, their blessing. Return thou son of the earth to thy native lands and to thy people; the anger of the Manidos is lifted; and thou and thine are blessed. Behold these weapons which I give thee, take, and preserve them, for they are mighty. Henceforth, I will be in thee to guard and protect thee from evil;" and, with these words, it breathed into his nostrils, and vanished. Baw-pin-wa-wa-ge-zig-wesh-cang opens his eyes, and looks around him, and lo! he has returned to his native lands. All nature is rejoicing and basking in the bright and sunny day. The birds are singing merrily around him, and feasting upon the green foliage and upon the numerous flowers which abound in the forest. The sparkling waters of the brook, upon the banks of which he lies, are tempting to his parched lips. He rises to his feet, and, stepping into the shallow brook, with his hand dips of the water and quenches his thirst. After thus refreshing himself with a draught of the pure and crystal water of the brook, he left, strengthened, and forthwith resolved to seek home. His progress is slow; but, at the closing of the day, he finds himself within a short distance of the camp. Sick and weary, he sits down to rest. Disdaining the reproach and ridicule of the ungrateful class of his associates by manifesting a lack of courage and energy, he rises upon his feet, and, exerting all his remaining strength, darts forward, and, with rapid strides, clears the forest and passes into the open space intervening the forest and the group of wigwams which form the village or camp; and, as he approaches, and his feet touch the ground contaminated by the foulness of the populace, his strength gradually fails him, and he falls, senseless, on the threshold of his wigwam. He has put off the old man, and put on the new. History furnishes many illustrations, of a similar character, transpiring under various and different circumstances. For instance, "And the ass spake unto Balaam:" why, then, should it be a thing incredible, that

the thunder and lightning should speak to Lo! under extraordinary circumstances? There was David, who slew the great Goliath with a pebble, out of a sling: again, why should it be a thing incredible, that Lo! should annihilate a "Ween-digo" with a simple "Bagamawgan," manufactured out of a block of cedar-wood, and a dagger, out of the same material, and tempered by the thunder in a flash of lightning? "Eli-jah being fed by the ravens, while fasting, in "side of a rough cave:" and again, why should it be a thing incredible that Lo! should be fed by invisible hands in that beautiful land of dreams? Five thousand swine being possessed of the devil, who most effectually secured their perdition by tumbling them into the drink: again, I say why should it be a thing incredible that Lo! should be possessed of the thunder and lightning, whose spirit was infused into Lo! by its breath, not to perdition, but to be the savior of the lives of his people? I would also refer to the remarkable historical works of Professor Lowe, whose history of the great and wonderful linguist and ventriloquist May-na-bo-zho is so attractive and yet so little appreciated. This wonderful being spoke to and was understood by every thing, either animate or inanimate, and understood the language of the same, in return. Again, I repeat, why should it be a thing incredible, that Lo! under peculiar circumstances, and that in a new sphere, should be able to understand the language, whether audible or inaudible, of the thunder under the guise of the monster Bird?

It was not the design, at the opening of this narrative, to give a full history of the people of which the opening is the subject, or the relative connections which may be cited as illustrations, but simply to glance at each of them. I will, therefore, ere we close our narrative, cite a few sketches from the works of Professor Lowe, relative to the wonderful genius and faculties of May-na-bo-zho, the great linguist and ventriloquist. I will here cite a few incidents that have transpired within a few years, in that locality; the narrator of the following being the hero of the occasion, being temporarily located in that vicinity, in the capacity of a runner employed by a fur-trading firm. In that capacity, while visiting the camps for the purpose of collecting the proceeds of the Fall and part of the Winter hunt, he had been a number of days in the direction indicated by some of the natives he had visited; but, finding no fresh vestige of any human being in the neighborhood, he more than once made up his mind to retrace his steps. But, as often, he would go a little further; and, as a reward for his perseverance, he at last came in sight of a blue smoke hanging over a lone spot upon the border of a lake indicating

the situation of the camp. The camp was composed of five or six wigwams, the inhabitants of which had not, for several days previous to his arrival, been out hunting, nor even had they been on the lake for fish to keep them from starving. The camp was still as night throughout the day: in the evening, not a drum beat to change the monotony—not even a song from some young aspirant of feminine favors, in honor of his adored. As was the general wont, in those days, for a runner, the first and most important thing to be done is to visit the several wigwams, and distribute the “assamaw.” After the tour of inspection was over, and he had returned to the wigwam of his host, he inquired the state of affairs and why they were all so gloomy. It may here be in place to mention that a portion of the inhabitants of that camp were from her Majesty’s dominions, and, therefore, were responsible for their hunt to the trader residing in that territory; and the obtaining possession of that held by them would be very difficult for our runner, in any ordinary way. In reply to his inquiries, his host (while several others were present) informed him that, a few days previous, some young men had been out in the forest on a hunt for cariboo and had heard the cries or howl of a “weendigo” which appeared to proceed from a distant cliff; and that their perilous situation and fears of certain destruction were enhanced by their incompetency to confront and make him battle. Therefore they were doomed. The inhaling breath of the “weendigo” was powerful, and would not let them fly for their lives. This the pelletrie-man did not believe; although he affected to be as conscious of the impending danger as any of the most timid.

He had an object in view, and, therefore, did not openly ridicule their ideas. Certainly, it was a most opportune circumstance for our pelletrie-man, and creditable for him to take advantage of it and act upon the brilliant idea which worked upon his brain. He had noticed some considerable pelt in the camp; and was bound, by a *coup-d’état*, to get possession of it. He would meet the “weendigo” in its den. At the closing of the day, he called the principal men of the camp and, after enjoying the luxury of a good smoke, he with as much solemnity as he could command on the occasion, pointed out to them the evil attending inactivity in such a desperate straight.

He, therefore, would risk his life for their sakes, by meeting this mighty “weendigo” and challenge him in combat, provided they would direct and show him where the sound they had heard proceeded from. All amazed and astonished at so much impudence and self-conceit of their visitor, they inquired if he would dare venture to go alone. His answer to them was in the

affirmative: he would go, and meet him alone. After an ineffectual effort had been made, by every one present, to dissuade him from exposing himself to certain destruction, he was presented with materials of war, which were urged upon him, most ardently, the whole paraphernalia comprising of a “Bag-a-maw-gan” eight or ten inches in length, manufactured out of a piece of cedar wood, and a knife of the same material and length. These, they avowed, had been used on a previous occasion, in like emergency, and proved to be the only implements that would pierce through the imperious exterior of the “weendigo.” He then accepted the proffered weapons; and immediately made preparations to depart and trace the war-path. The old wintry sun had sunk below the western horizon; the stars twinkled in the frosty air; and the bright moon had appeared in the orient, with not a cloud in the heavens to obscure its face, as if in anticipation to view and enjoy the scene to be enacted below by the valiant pelletrie-man. Two of the bravest of the young men of the camp had volunteered to go as guides. They traveled silently, but hastily, about five miles, through the thick forest—now over rocky precipices; now up and down rugged sides of the deep ravines where it was almost impossible for man or beast to go through, by daylight. The pelt in the camp was the great incentive. When within a mile of the supposed locality inhabited by the “weendigo,” the guides refused to advance further. The valiant son of pelt put forth, alone, and with distrust working in his brain, enhanced by the solemn silence of his guides, as he entered the proximity of his ideal foe, he involuntarily stopped to catch a sound proceeding from the direction designated by his guides. Presently, he heard a sound seeming, to his over-excited mind, unearthly, and proceeding from a very deep ravine he was then approaching. But he was not to be daunted. He descended the steep and rugged side, and entered into the deep recess of the ravine. Once more he heard the sound: a cold sweat and shiver ran through his whole frame: his hair stood on end. One moment, he resolved to advance. Another sound, but more distinct, and evidently proceeding directly overhead, about two hundred yards distant, on the summit of the hill forming one side of the deep ravine opposite to that by which he had reached the place. His courage revived; he ascended, tortuously, the steep and rugged side; and, by strenuous efforts, reached the summit, the home of the mighty “weendigo,” who was in the shape of two pine trees, one leaning against the other; and, as the wind would stir and sway their tops, it would create a groan like that emit-

ted by a muffled locomotive whistle. Fatigued by his strenuous exertions, and as the night was far advanced and the passage a difficult one, he determined not to return, but wait till morning; and, immediately suiting the action to the thought of camping, he set himself to work, and, in a short time, a suitable camp was improvised, and our hero, comfortably settled before a blazing and cheerful camp-fire, soon resigned himself to the arms of Morpheus. Meanwhile, the guides had returned and reported the progress made by the son of pelletrie. In that camp, not an eye was closed in sleep, during that night, but all anxious for the return of the hero; and, as daylight appeared and grew into a perfect day, watching the creeping up of the sun to the line described by the knowing ones, which, when reached, his non-arrival would decide their fate. But the hero arrived in due time, to the great joy of the whole camp. After relating to them his adventure, the Chief of the camp called the inhabitants into Council, where the whole of the pelletrie held by them was voted in our hero's favor.

One cold frosty morning, and yet before the sun had appeared, a certain camp or village was thrown into a state of excitement, caused by the announcement of the "Sawgido" of the camp that the Chesakee was, that very night, moved by the spirit, and revealed unto him that, in a certain lake adjacent to their homes, was the habitation of a "weendigo's" spirit; and that, before many days, it would rise from its watery home and eventually destroy them. Sad and gloomy were the countenances of every individual: inquiring glances, from women and children, were lavished upon every young man of any pretention: while the aged Medays, Chesakees, Nebেকেes, and braves were assembled in the "Ogenaw's" wigwam, canvassing candidates for the office of scout. Still no one was willing to undertake the perilous duty to reconnoitre. For several days following the announcement, the whole camp was silent, as if deserted; and fear was depicted upon every face. At length, after many days of hunger and painful suspense, the "Chesakee" volunteered to go alone, and seek the lake, as revealed to him by the spirit. After undergoing preliminary preparations, in the way of "manedocaus" for courage and success, and in equipping himself with war materials, he went forth, alone, in the dead of night, and by daylight succeeded in reaching the lake indicated by the spirit. The precise locality being unknown to the "Chesakee," he mechanically surveyed every part which answered his suspicions. After many hours of unfruitful search, he involun-

tarily directed his steps towards a high promontory, on the opposite side of the lake, where his most sanguine hopes were realized by discovering the desired indications on the surface of the ice and snow, which bound the waters of the lake. Directly the brave "Chesakee" actively engaged in destroying every trace bearing the advent of the Weendigo, by cutting through the ice, in several places, and otherwise changing the aspect of the surrounding premises. And thus they were once more saved.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VIII.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*Biographical Sketch of Professor George T. Elliot, Jr., M.D.* By Samuel W. Francis, M.D. Sine loco, [Philadelphia?] sine anno [1871?] Octavo, pp. 4.

A warm tribute of respect to the memory of a learned physician of New York, recently deceased, from the pen of another—the last, a worthy son of our distinguished friend, the late Doctor John W. Francis, whose praise is on the lips of all old New Yorkers.

B.—PUBLICATIONS OF SOCIETIES.

2.—*Oration on the Two hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth. 21 December, 1870.* By Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, LL.D. Boston: 1871. Octavo, pp. 95.

"The landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, at Plymouth" has furnished so much material for the orator, the poet, the historian, the essayist, the novelist, the bigot, the liberal, the painter, the sculptor, the New Englander, the European, the New Yorker—well, to whom has it not, some time, furnished a subject?—that we need not occupy our space by telling who they were; why they landed at Plymouth; what they did and what they did not, after they had landed there; nor wherein they differed from the Puritans who subsequently landed elsewhere and by whom they were as effectually "gobbled," soon after, as were any of our boys, by the Confederates, in the recent War of Secession.

Last December completed two centuries and a half since these "Pilgrim Fathers" landed on "the Blarney-stone of America;" and all Massachusetts was at its wit's end, about that time, to contrive some way of letting the busy world know that petty fact, as if it was of the least

possible importance to anybody outside of Plymouth or was cared for, to the amount of a brass button, by anybody outside of Massachusetts.

We do not blame either Plymouth or Massachusetts in thus blowing their local whistles, in order to attract somebody to their old-fashioned side-shows; because, if we must tell the truth, neither of these establishments have much beside these old affairs to blow about. The Census tells us, unmistakably, that Massachusetts has seen her best days; that the best part of her is that which is under-ground; that her present *personnel* is rapidly becoming of foreign birth; that her re-productive powers are mainly of Irish origin; that her foreign trade is becoming more and more carried on through New York; that her shipping is obliged to seek, in ballast, other seaports than her own for their return cargoes; that she has no *Present* of which she can boast, honestly; that she is necessitated, therefore, to fall back on the *Past*—the misty, befogged, distorted Past—for a foot-hold for her rapidly decaying respectability. In short, the records of Massachusetts' Present remind us more forcibly of what that venerable Commonwealth *is not* than of she *is*; they display, most indisputably, the rapidity of her decline from her old-time greatness; they afford evidence of the unmistakable littleness, when compared with her sister States, to which she has recently attained. Why then shall we blame Plymouth or Massachusetts for whistling aloud the tunes of other days, in the absence of any others, in order to keep her courage up, in these? Why shall we begrudge Massachusetts this scanty consolation, when those of her sons who are really men have abandoned her to her dreary fate and only those who are impotent are left, with the bats and owls, to contend, at home, with the coming Irish and Chinese, for the possession, in the future, of the high places which were once redolent of Otis's and of Webster's greatness?

But, as we have said, the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers was approaching; and Plymouth could not afford to let it pass without celebrating it. The identical rock-bound coast, with the angry waves dashing on it, which the poet saw with the eye of faith, and yet as near to Plymouth as they were when "the Pilgrims" landed there, in 1620; and, notwithstanding "the Rock" has been split and carted from its original resting place, "it is a good enough Morgan until after the election," as Thurlow Weed once said of a similarly bogus article, further to the westward. Besides, Plymouth possesses a Brass Band—that which, once on a time, delighted our friend Parton, so much—and so could supply her own brass and her own wind; and if it should become necessary to tell the

Most High—*what he knew not of, already*—how great, and how holy, and how upright, and unselfish, and how republican in their opinions and practices, these "Pilgrim Fathers" were, and how momentous has been the result of that particular "landing," of that particular party, had not Plymouth, too, home-made parsons enough to lay that unctuous offering on the Old Colony's Altar, or on "the Rock" itself, which is the holy of holies, in that part of Massachusetts? A celebration, therefore, must be had; and Plymouth's hereditary greatness must be made servicable, by simultaneously flattering Plymouth's vanity and increasing the revenues of Plymouth's tavern-keepers.

But "the Pilgrim Fathers" were only a party of English rustics—we do not remember the name of a single "Gentleman" among them—a rustic, therefore, would most consistently occupy the leading place in the coming celebration. They were, also, not "Puritans"—no, indeed, they were exactly the opposite of that party, in their opinions and practices—a "Puritan," therefore, would hardly do justice to Plymouth's cowering refugees from England's Puritanic and Holland's Reformed harsh treatment. They were "Separatists," too,—"sectaries," if you like the word better—and so did not believe, *JUST THEN—whatever they said they believed, SOON AFTER*, when they became "the upper dog in the fight"—in either a State religion or a State's right to dictate on religious matters: a Prelatist, therefore, whether of England or America, or a "Puritan" of the Bay Colony, could not be expected to tell, heartily and approvingly, of "the Pilgrims'" heresy, of their resolute contumacy, or of their voluntary exile—fore-runners of the Mormons, at a later period—in search of "freedom to worship God," after the fashion which pleased them best. Above all, Plymouth's grandfathers could most properly be talked about by one of Plymouth's own sons—a daughter might be substituted, if the supply of sons was stopped—and Plymouth's music, and Plymouth's prayers, and Plymouth's benediction, and Plymouth's increased revenues, for that one day, would receive new lustre and become more glorious if a home-made Plymouth Oration could be sandwiched between them. Alas! "how are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle." If Boston and what was once "the Bay Colony" are rapidly losing their distinctively puritanic elements and becoming, instead, distinctively Celtic, as the recent Census is said to indicate; how much more rapid must have been the decay of manliness in "the Old Colony"—*not a descendant of "the Pilgrim Fathers" could be found to tell of the "Pilgrims" greatness, even on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of their "landing,"*

and for the temporary increase of Plymouth's revenues. Under these circumstances, what was to be done? Was the impotence of those who had occupied the places which once knew "the Pilgrim Fathers" to be allowed to offer a bar to Plymouth's fondly cherished anticipations of a tickled vanity and replenished pocket-books? We shall see.

There is, in Boston, a remnant of the old stock, a connecting link between the Massachusetts-men of the olden time and those who are not Massachusetts-men, now, but who will be, in season to vote at the next Presidential election and to control her destinies, thenceforth. This remnant is purely, and unmistakeably, and honestly, puritanic; and no one who enjoys the privilege of their personal friendship will hesitate to recognize, in its widest sense, the most perfect uprightness, and consistency, and personal kindness of those who compose it. Naturally, enough, therefore, when Plymouth discovered her own littleness, in the entire absence of any one, among her own children, who could tell again her already oft-repeated story, she turned her anxious eyes toward this portion of Boston—puritanic, conformist, persecuting Boston—and canvassed the names of the Aspinwalls, the Winthrops, and other descendants of the men who made Boston, originally, and who still linger in that old town and sustain, as best they can, the fading honor of "the Bay Colony," with a hope that some one of these, in his goodness, would rescue her from the impending danger of being openly proclaimed an intellectual bankrupt.

It was true, that none of those on whom the Plymouth eye then most fondly rested, were of "Pilgrim" descent; none of them were of Plymouth origin; not one was of the school of the "Separatists" of Scrooby, or Leyden, or the *Mayflower*: on the contrary, it was also true, that their's were Puritanic ancestries; that they were of "the Bay Colony;" that they were of Prelatical stock, lineally representing those who had favored a State religion and persecuted those rustics, in Lincolnshire and elsewhere, who had "separated" from "the Establishment" and become "Sectaries"—how, therefore, could either of these become Plymouth's spokesman, in the great day which Plymouth was looking to, so anxiously? We shall see.

Boston took pity on Plymouth—it matters not why—and, like the two of whom we read, she charitably covered the nakedness of the venerable debauchee, by sending the youngest Governor Winthrop, one of her best known citizens, to occupy the vacant rostrum, in "the Old Colony," which that worn-out community had been unable to fill from its own native-born children; and like Shem, of old, that distinguished and most

excellent puritanic prelatist will enjoy the blessing of the "Old Colony" which her own sons, who did not conceal her nakedness, can never enjoy.

Governor Winthrop, as we have said, went to Plymouth, when that venerable community called the world to witness that she was two hundred and fifty years old; and it was he on whom, on that occasion, devolved the unwelcome duty of ascending the "Old Colony" minaret and of calling, thence, the faithful to their devotions. Just what he thus said, as the spokesman of Plymouth, when all the universe was expected to pay homage to the "Pilgrim Fathers" and to "the Rock" on which the faith of Plymouth rests so contentedly, is recorded in the beautiful volume which is before us, for which we are indebted to its justly distinguished author; and our readers will not be less anxious than we were, to learn what a Winthrop, of Puritanic Boston, a Conformist of "the Establishment," had to say of the rustic "separatists" of Scrooby; of their flight, successively, to Amsterdam, Leyden, and the wilderness of America; and of those wonderful results, consequent on that flight, of which the astonished world has so often and so incredulously heard so much.

Governor Winthrop fitly recognized Plymouth as the pioneer settlement in *Massachusetts*; and he recognized the "influence" which—"inspiring and aiding the settlement of Massachusetts and, through Massachusetts, of all New England"—that settlement has wielded, to a greater or less extent, over the destinies of the world. Just *what* that "influence" was, however, and just *how much* there was of it, Governor Winthrop, with excellent judgment, did not attempt to describe; but he told his hearers of the death of one-half of the first party, within three months of their landing, and of the miseries endured by the survivors; of the aggregated settlements containing, at the end of ten years, not more than three hundred souls; of the failure of these refugee, rustic "Pilgrims" and of all who have descended from them to build up either a great City or a Commonwealth, such as younger Boston and more juvenile Massachusetts have become, under Puritanic "influence" and leadership: he told, too, of the priority, as pioneers, of the Colonists of Virginia, and of the much earlier movements, in that Colony, for the establishment of both an ecclesiastical and a political policy; and he told of the ill success of this wonderful pioneer settlement of Massachusetts; of its ceaseless struggles, for sixty years; and of its ultimate disappearance, in the strong embrace of that rival settlement, at "the Bay," of whose superior glories, without formally presenting them, he was, evidently, vastly more sensible.

With great minuteness and authorial skill,

Governor Winthrop traced "the Pilgrim Fathers," from their small beginnings, at Scrooby Manor-house, through the prison at Boston, in Lincolnshire, to Amsterdam, Leyden, England, and America; and he told, evidently with lively twinkles of his Episcopalian eye, how these schismatics were wont to assemble, for their unhallowed worship, after all, in the ancient palace of the Archbishop of York, at Scrooby; how Bradford, the "Pilgrim" and "Separatist," notwithstanding his non-conformity, was "baptized according to the rites, and by a Pastor of 'the Church of England';" * of the entire absence, in the records of "the Pilgrim Fathers," of sympathy, on their part, with or for the Arminian martyr, Barneveldt, who was beheaded, at the Hague, for reasons of religion, while they were at Leyden; of the service, to the Establishment itself, which the Pilgrims and Puritans rendered, when they resisted the prelatical assumptions and tyrannies of that day; of the service which Laud and Bancroft, by means of their severity, rendered to the New England settlements; of his own entire devotion to the Church of England and his consequent condemnation of the underlying principle of non-conformity to her bidding which controlled "the Pilgrim Fathers," from first to last; etc. He entered a solemn protest against "the proud malignity of those who are never weary of prying into the petty faults and follies of our Fathers, and who seem to gloat and exult in holding them up to the ridicule and reproach of their children"—an evident thrust at Doctor Moore's *Historical Notes on Slavery in Massachusetts*—and he pleads guilty, like an honest man, to "the charges of intolerance, bigotry, superstition, and persecution, which there seems to have been a special delight, in some quarters, of late years, in arraying against our New England Fathers and founders," in other Colonies than Plymouth; and puts in a special and skilfully-framed plea of justification, in abatement of judgment thereon. He brings the Present of New England to judgment, arraigning it before "the Pilgrim Fathers;" and he closes with an eloquent appeal to New Englanders and with Mr. Webster's invitation to the world to come in and share the privileges which the Fathers of New England have transmitted to their descendants—an invitation which was as unnecessary, in Massachusetts, as it was cruelly sarcastic in Plymouth.

We have no means of knowing how Ply-

mouth was pleased with her Orator, nor how she reciprocated the favor which Governor Winthrop extended to her, in her deep distress. We suspect she was not pleased that there were found in this admirable paper none of the extravagances which, ten years ago, were thrust into everything which related to the "Pilgrim Fathers" or to Plymouth—Mr. Winthrop has evidently learned something from the uneasy mortals of whom he has so often made mention in his Oration, as tell-tales of Puritanic or Pilgrim irregularities, and cared not to expose himself to their censures, by any such indiscretion—and that the Fathers, on either hand—those of the Bay and those of Plymouth—are made to occupy the places which more nearly belonged to them. Plymouth, instead of being considered, as hitherto, the fountain of all honor, is made subordinate to the Bay Colony; and all the renown which is now claimed for the former is that to which, "*through Massachusetts*," her "influence in inspiring and aiding the settlements" throughout New England have justly entitled her.

Verily, "the world moves."

3.—*Organization of the Lee Monument Association, and the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia, Richmond, Va., Nov. 3d, and 4th, 1870.* Richmond: J. W. Randolph & English. 1871. Octavo, pp. 52.

This pamphlet contains the record of the organization of the two Societies named in the title-page—one an Association for the erection, at Richmond, of an appropriate monument to the memory of General Robert E. Lee: the other a similar Association for "the preservation of the friendships that were formed in the Army; the perpetuation of its fame; and the vindication of its achievements"—and for other reasons than this, it is worthy of careful preservation by every one who aims to collect and preserve the fleeting evidences of the recent inter-State conflict.

C.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

4.—*History of the town of Essex from 1634 to 1863*, by the late Rev. Robert Crowell, D.D., with Sketches of the Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion, by Hon. David Choate. Essex: Published by the Town. 1863. Octavo, pp. 488.

In 1853, a *History of Essex (then Chebacco, a part of Ipswich) from 1634 to 1700*, was printed; and it was intended to re-produce that volume in this, and to continue it, to 1819. The author did not live to complete his work, however, nor even to collect the materials for that portion of it which was intended to relate to the history of the period subsequent to 1814; and other hands were employed to complete it and carry it through the press.

The author, strangely enough, thought "a few

* It is very possible that if Mr. Winthrop had learned as much of the practice which yet prevails in that particular neighborhood, concerning the "naming" of the children of Dissenters, by the Clergy of the Established Church, without "christening" them, he would not have said as much, on this particular subject, as he has said.

"fancy sketches of domestic, nautical, and military life," would improve his *history*; and it is not always evident, to those who are strangers in Essex, just where the *fancy* ends and the *facts* begin. Yet this is an important local history; and, since the manuscript has been purchased by the town and published at its expense, it has acquired an importance which cannot be either overlooked or disregarded, without injustice.

It is very neatly printed; and we have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to it, although it is not, strictly speaking, a "recent publication."

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

5.—*Pioneer Biography. Sketches of Lives of some of the Early Settlers of Butler County, Ohio.* By James Mc Bride of Hamilton. Vol. II. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1871. Octavo, pp. 288. Price \$3.

We noticed this work on the appearance of the first volume; and we can say nothing, additional, concerning it.

It is a series of sketches of the lives and adventures of various early settlers in Butler county, Ohio; and it possesses unusual interest because there is much, included in those sketches, which is of neither individual nor local character, merely, and which forms important elements in the unwritten history of the West and Northwest.

The typography is very fine; and the *Ohio Valley Series*, of which this is a volume, is very much enriched by it.

6.—*The History of Warren; a mountain hamlet located among The White Hills of New Hampshire.* By William Little. Manchester, N. H.: William E. Moore. 1870. Octavo, pp. 592. Price \$3.

This is, certainly, such a *History* as has no parallel; and its author is unquestionably without a peer in his profession. "The writing of 'it,'" Mr. Little tells us, referring to his book, "has not been a labor. It has been a pleasant 'pastime, a source of amusement—'good fun.' " The result is, he has made a curious book; and yet, we have no doubt, he has made one which is just as creditable to him, as a credible author, as it would have been if he had run in the usual historical rut—vastly more creditable, we imagine, than would have been a volume cast in the mould which the venerable Secretary of the New Hampshire Society is wont to employ.

The style which the author has employed may be seen in the following extract from the *Contents* of the volume:

"BOOK III.

'CHAP. I. Concerning a great shaggy wood, "and numerous hunters therein; and then of "a sweet little feud between three royal

"Governors," and how one of them politely "euchered" the others, much to their delight. "CHAP. II. Of a fine old Governor of 'ye ancient days, and of his royal Secretary; how "these two worthies built golden castles in the "air, and finally grew quite rich."

The text of the narrative is written in the same style, utterly disregarding all precedents, and caring for nothing as much as a distinct impression, on the minds of his readers, of the truth he is presenting. Indeed, this volume carries its author's good faith on its very front; and we defy any one to read a page of it without being assured that, whoever this William Little may be, he means just what he says and says just what he means.

Most heartily do we commend this village joker and his volume to the tender mercies of our readers—he is evidently a jolly fellow; and as for his book, with its photographic illustrations, it is as neatly-printed as it is outspoken in its style.

7.—*History of the Common School System of the State of New York, from its origin, in 1785, to the present time.* Including the various City and other special organizations, and the religious controversies of 1821, 1832, and 1840. By S. S. Randall. 1871. Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor, & Co., New York and Chicago. Octavo, pp. xiv., 477.

Our honored friend and neighbor, Hon. S. S. Randall, has spent the better portion of his useful life and that of his best energies in the service of the State Schools; and there is a fitness in the appropriation of a portion of his latter years, in his dignified retirement, to a presentation to the world of the history of that system, in its various phases, and of its results, thus far, and what is expected from it, hereafter. That history and those results and expectations have found places in this volume, a copy of which its learned author has recently placed before us; and, for the reason that it is the work of a valued friend and because of the importance of the subject to which it is devoted, we open the work with pleasure and turn over its well-printed pages with unusual interest.

Mr. Randall does not pretend to present the general subject of Education, in New York; and the exhaustive *Annals* of that subject, by Mr. Pratt, will not, therefore, be anticipated by the appearance of this volume. He only casually glances at the result of the Dutch and English systems, as that result was seen in 1787; and then, with the express purpose of his work before him, he promptly proceeds to the discharge of the duty which he has undertaken to perform.

Commencing with Governor Clinton's Message of 1787 and the establishment of the Board of Regents which resulted from the Governor's recommendation, Mr. Randall traces the progress of legislation "for gospel and school purposes;"

the appropriation of portions of the State's lands for those *joint* purposes; the immediate absorption of those State *joint* funds by "the opulent," for the education of their own children, to the exclusion of those of "a great portion of the 'community';" the consequent discontent of the many that the few should thus be favored at the public crib, where all should have equal chances in the grab; and the consequent organization of a Common School System, nominally for the benefit of the many, but really a costly sham to pacify the great body of the tax-payers while "the opulent" few continued to absorb the bounties of the State, which the many had already been taxed to furnish—as "the opulent" still do, in the millions which are concentrated in the colleges and academics, whose doors are practically closed to the children of the working-man and whose system of education is equally useless to the masses. He tells, too, of the continued absorption of the State monies, those appropriated to *the Gospel* as well as those appropriated to the Schools, by the Academies and Colleges where only the children of "the opulent" could go, while Lotteries—yes, the vicious schemes of *gambling*, which are known to be so destructive of virtue and the best interests of the State, that they are constitutionally prohibited over the greater portion of the Union—were organized, to furnish the means for making the poor man's children virtuous by learning them their A B C's. He records the continued interest which "*religion* and "*morality*" elicited from those in authority, as a pharisaical plea for establishing State Schools—State Churches, assuredly, would have been much better conservators of "*religion* and *morality*;" but these the knowing-ones dared not propose—and he tells of the establishment of a system by means of which the State artfully dodged one-half of its duty—if it is *its duty*, at all, to educate our children—and threw upon the electors of each town, the freeholders therein, the option either to promote "*religion* and *morality*" by taxing themselves for educating other people's children besides their own or to let "*religion* and *morality*" go to the dogs, by keeping their own hard-earned money in their own pockets and letting the State keep, undisturbed, for "the opulent," those funds which, "for Gospel and School purposes," it had already illegally diverted from other and more legitimate uses.

Mr. Randall publishes, entire, the Act of February 17, 1812, establishing Common Schools; and he notices, successively, the appointment of Gideon Hawley as Superintendent of Common Schools; the slow progress of "*religion* and "*morality*" throughout the State, as seen in the neglect of the system; the rise and decline of the Lancasterian system of education; and the

continued increase, year by year, of neglect, on the part of the State, to do its duty, if that duty really extended, as pretended, to the cultivation of "*religion* and *morality*," at the cost of the tax-payers—instead of paying *one-half*, as it promised, only fifty-nine thousand, nine hundred and thirty dollars out of two hundred and six thousand, three hundred and forty-eight dollars, thus expended, in 1820, was paid out of the State Treasury. He records the prostitution of this *religious* and *moral* agency to the cause of party politics, in the removal of Gideon Hawley and the appointment, in his place, of a mere party hack, Welcome Esleeck, as the State Superintendent; the repeal of the Act establishing the office and transfer of the duties of Superintendent to the office of Secretary of State, by a Legislature of the opposite party, in order to get rid of this new incumbent; the sudden disappearance of "the Gospel" and "*religion*" from the scenes, and the absorption of the entire proceeds by the "*morality*" of the affair; and the struggle which, even at that early date, 1822, was necessary to be made by those who were nursed at the State's expense, in order to retain their places and enjoy their State bounty—Baptists, Roman Catholics, Methodists, Episcopalians, Reformed Dutch, German Lutheran, and Scotch Presbyterians, alike, participating in the unseemly scramble, nominally for religion's and morality's sake!

And why, let us ask, in view of the pretensions of those who had gobbled the State lands nominally for "*Gospel* and School purposes," should not these Baptists and Roman Catholics, these Methodists and Presbyterians, insist on their respective shares of the plunder? Why should "the opulent," and the school-masters, and politicians monopolize the control of all that was intended to strengthen the *virtuous* and *moral* of the State, and leave the poor, and the parsons, and the religious in the cold?

Well, as we have said—no matter who were right nor who were wrong—the parsons, on the one side, and the school-masters and politicians, on the other, fought over the plunder which they had jointly wrung from the hardworking tax-payers, exclusively "for Gospel and school purposes;" and "the Gospel" and the parsons were defeated—why should they not be, since Satan is generally a match for the parsons, especially when the latter encroach on the territory and prerogatives of the former, and drag their cloth and their godliness in the filth of politics, and of, what old John Bunyan aptly called, "*worldly-mindedness*." Mr. Randall tells of this fight and its result; and he tells, too, of the unsuccessful attempt, by the Public School Society, to extort from the residents of New York City, payment for the education of their chil-

dren, which had been already once before paid for, in the tax-bills which they had liquidated; of the renewal of the sectarian fight, under Roman Catholic lead and Methodist support, in 1832, and the success of the former and defeat of the latter; of the cropping out of the puritanic theory of compulsory education—twin-idea of compulsory church-going; both, nominally, for *virtue's* and *morality's* sake, and for the benefit of the State—of the third contest of the Churches for a share of the States' funds, in 1840; of the overthrow of the local Public School Society in the City of New York, and the establishment, in its stead, of a State Board of Education; of the establishment of Normal Schools and Teachers' Institutes; of the question of the use of the Bible, as a text-book; of the establishment of Free Schools, throughout the State, as State institutions, and their teachers as State officers; of the peculiarities of the District Library system which had been foisted on the State as an auxiliary to the State Schools; of the lawless malappropriation of Three hundred thousand dollars belonging to the Common School fund to the fund from which "the more opulent" were being taught, at the cost of the tax-payers, what are, curiously enough, known as "the higher branches;" of the subsequent renewal of the fraudulent operation, in the mal-appropriation of four thousand dollars derived from a foreclosure sale of property on which a loan had been made from the Common School Fund; of the mal-appropriation of the District Library Fund, to the payment of Teachers' salaries; and, finally, he reviews the subject and indicates the beauties and the defects of the system, as he understands them.

Although we do not recognize any more legitimate right, in the State, either for "virtue's" sake or any other, to appropriate any portion of the State's property or the tax-payers' monies to "Gospel and School purposes" than to establish a State Church, for the like promotion of "virtue" among the inhabitants, it is a matter of fact that, either by hook or by crook, these State Schools really exist; and it is well, therefore, that the record of the fraud which has been perpetrated, in their establishment, on the fundamental principles of the Republic, as well as that of the internal mal-appropriation of the stolen funds—the want of honor among the thieves, if we may so express it, without personal disrespect to those who were not the thieves in question—should be honestly presented, in all their ugliness, to those who shall desire, hereafter, to look into the matter. Mr. Randall has been so long connected with the establishment, either as a Clerk in the State Department, or as General Deputy State Superintendent of the State; or as Superintendent of the Schools in the

City of New York, that no more competent hand could possibly be engaged in the work; and he has admirably discharged that duty, in the volume which is before us. A better sustained narrative is seldom seen; and the copious extracts from the official documents not only leave no room for doubts, as to the accuracy of the story, but quite as little to be wished for, in something which is not referred to.

Typographically, we may be permitted to say that the heavy face of the type employed in printing the volume, while it certainly adds to its distinctness, quite as certainly detracts from its attractiveness.

8.—*Bibliography of the Local History of Massachusetts.* By Jeremiah Colburn. Boston: Wm. Parsons Lunt. 1871. Octavo, pp. vi., 119.

In this age of extreme ignorance, in the many, concerning the history and historical literature of the United States, how few there are who will appreciate the vast amount of labor which has been expended on this volume; and among the few who profess to be intelligent, how few would suppose that a hundred and nineteen large pages are required to present the mere *short* titles of the distinct works which have been devoted to the local history of one State, and that not the largest, nor the most populous, nor the most wealthy, of the Confederacy? Yet such is a ctually the case; and no one need wonder, in view of the sober truth which is thus revealed, that the mere collection of a good working-library of American history—such an one as every accurate writer of that history must possess—is the work of a life-time, busily and constantly employed; that it is a labor of unusual interest, attended with enough of anxiety and excitement, requiring the utmost tact and the widest information to secure any reasonable degree of success, and absorbing time and money in no very moderate degree; and that such a library, or what may be relatively considered a *good* one, when collected, is not only a sight which is worth looking at—such an one as is only seldom seen, in private hands—but contributes to those who have access to it a power against which, if it is skilfully employed, no mere talent, unsustained by such a reserve of authorities, can stand for a moment, in a hand-to-hand contest for the mastery.

Such a library, as we have said, is seldom seen; and such a library can only be found among such as Mr. Colburn is, and, when found, can only be useful to such as he. Such a volume as that which is before us can be made only from the materials which such a library necessarily contains; and the volume, when completed, is useful only to those who either have collected such libraries or love to frequent those which others have collected, and whose line of duty

leads them to look to what has no charms for the many, for the means for establishing some naked fact or for the vindication of some insulted truth.

Those whom we have described, and only those, will care a button for this volume; but they, the country over, and for all time, will be grateful to Mr. Colburn for the great service he has thus done for them; and, although we miss many titles, some of which, we think, should have found places this list, if a consistent prosecution of his plan might be reasonably looked for, we desire to be considered as one of those whose thanks are thus offered to the patient and industrious author of this *Bibliography*, even for the imperfect volume which he has presented.

We say we miss some titles which, we think, should have found places in this list, in view of the plan which the author evidently laid down for himself; and we do so, besides, because of the fact that some of those titles were *certainly* within his reach, either on his own book-shelves or in the library from which this volume is dated. But he was the judge of the expediency of omitting them; and we, most assuredly, shall not appeal from his decision, although we cannot do less than notice the fact. Let us not be misunderstood. By all odds, *The Life and Times of Anne Hutchinson*, which appeared in *The New York Chronicle*, some years since, was the most carefully-prepared and elaborate account of that subject which has yet seen daylight; but it finds no place in this list, although articles of less extent and requiring not a tenth of the labor in their preparation, are duly noted. The narratives of the affairs at Lexington and Concord, of Bunker's-hill and the Siege of Boston, which are in *The Battles of the United States*, too, were considered by President Sparks, in his lifetime, as peculiarly noteworthy; and the first of them secured for their obscure and humble author the warm friendship of that great and good man, which was continued until his death; yet, amidst all the references to such works, these are not referred to, in this *Bibliography*. "The Boston Massacre," so called, was more carefully examined, in its relation to "the 'first blood,'" in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for January, 1869, than in any other place; and if the *Battle of Bunker's-hill* has been as thoroughly overhauled and as impartially presented, either in a narrative or in a documentary form, elsewhere, as it has been in the June number of the same Magazine, for 1868, we have yet to learn it. Yet, as far as this *Bibliography* is concerned, these articles might as well have been unwritten; and so might that letter, printed in pamphlet form, on *The Declaration of Independence of Massachusetts*, May 1, 1776, which drew to its author the congratulations of such distinguished

Bostonians as Messrs. Winthrop, Palfrey, Livermore, Thornton, etc.

It is true, the writer of all these is not in favor in Somerset-street, because of his outspoken exposures of Boston's peculiarities. But students and those who seek the truth of our country's history *have a right to the whole truth from those who, without expressed reservation, pretend to tell any of it*; and when Mr. Colburn undertook to tell, without reservation, for instance, what the *Bibliography* of Charlestown was, he had no right to notice what is in a few pages of *The American Recorder* and of *The Boston Magazine*, of *The Massachusetts Historical Collections* and of *The American Quarterly Register*, of the *Christian Examiner*, of *Niles's Register*, and of Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, and, at the same time, to omit all reference, even the slightest, to what is printed on many pages of *The Battles of the United States* and of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, the last of which, especially, contained by far the most complete account of what adds most to the fame of that city.

We have excellent reasons for knowing that the author of those pages cares nothing whatever for what seems to have been a deliberate slight, in this disregard of what he had written concerning the "Local History of Massachusetts"—that, as his good name does not depend on Boston's favor, so, too, will not Boston's disregard destroy it—and he notices the significant fact, in this place, only to leave on record, once more, "how they 'do things in Boston.'"

The matter of this volume, we believe, has appeared in successive numbers of *The Historical and Genealogical Register*; and only a small number of copies were struck off, in this form, for the use of the author and of the few who are interested in this class of literature.

9.—*At Last: A Christmas in the West Indies*. By Charles Kingsley. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 465. Price \$1.50.

This is, certainly, one of the most interesting volumes of travels which we have met with, these many a day. The West Indies are fairly photographed, in all that relates to their scenery, products, and inhabitants; and the story is told in the most attractive style.

As a specimen of typography, it is very neat: in its binding, it is really handsome.

10.—*History of Louis Philippe, King of the French*. By John S. C. Abbott. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. 16mo., pp. 405. Price \$1.20.

Another of the series of biographies, from Mr. Abbott's practiced pen, which has become so widely known, the country over, and to which Abraham Lincoln declared himself to be "indebted 'for about all the historical knowledge he had.'"

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

EXTRA.

MORRISANIA, N. Y., JULY, 1871.

VINDICATION OF VOLUME FIRST OF THE COLLECTIONS OF THE VER- MONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY, FROM THE ATTACKS OF THE NEW YORK HIS- TORICAL MAGAZINE.

BY HON. HILAND HALL.

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES AND A LETTER, IN
RESPONSE TO GOVERNOR HALL,

BY HENRY B. DAWSON.

In the former volume of these *Collections*, published in 1870, an attempt was made to embody in chronological order such authentic accounts as could be found of the proceedings of the different Conventions of the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants, prior to the establishment of the State Government of Vermont, in 1778. No original Journals of those Conventions could be found, and information in regard to their proceedings was sought for in all quarters where it was thought it might be obtained. Among the sources from which information was procured, were the fourth volume of *The Documentary History of New York* the published Journals of the New York Congress of 1775, the Connecticut *Courant*, published at Hartford, for the year 1777, Mr. Slade's *Vermont State Papers*, the manuscript papers in the offices of the Secretaries of State at Albany and Montpelier, and a Manuscript copy, from what was believed to be an authentic copy of the Journals of several Conventions in 1776 and 1777. The sources from which the accounts of these proceedings were obtained were distinctly indicated in the publication itself, either by introductory statements or foot-notes, so that the verification of each part, and the credit to which it was entitled, could be conveniently tested by historical students.

The number of the New York Historical Magazine for January, 1871, edited by Henry B. Dawson, Esq., contains a very sharp and bitter criticism on this part of the Society's volume, in which he assumes to have discovered numerous errors and falsehoods of so flagrant a character as, in his view, to justify him in making a charge of intended deception and fraud on the part of the Committee of Publication.* He claims that their work is not a fair account of

actual proceedings, but is a "reconstructed record" got up by the Committee for the purpose of placing the conduct of the Vermonters, in their early controversy with New York, on a more favorable footing than their original proceedings would warrant, and that their publication is therefore "entirely useless as an authority in historical enquiry." This charge of fraud in the publication, if well-founded, not only deprives it of historical authority, but ensures the just condemnation of the Committee of Publication by all lovers of honesty and truth.†

The chronic propensity of Mr. Dawson to treat such opinions as do not coincide with his own, as founded in dishonesty and crime, must be well known to the readers of his Magazine, and some of them may have noticed that this propensity becomes peculiarly active and violent whenever any question of Vermont history is concerned. He has, in his Magazine, habitually sought to stigmatize Vermonters by branding them with opprobrious epithets, calling them "renegade Green Mountain Boys," "secessionists," "nullifiers," "traitors," "thieves," etc., etc.; and it has also seemed impossible for

* The only approach to a charge of fraud that there is, in the criticism referred to, is that contained in these words: "6.—The interpolation of a line, assigning a motive for the sudden attempt of Heman Allen to withdraw the insurgents' Petition and Remonstrance from before the Continental Congress, was simply a piece of impertinence on the part of the Editors, and is a fraud on those who shall read these re-constructed Minutes: there is no such reason assigned, in the real Minutes, as written by the Secretary of the Convention."

On page 10 of this *Vindication*, as the reader will perceive, Governor Hall admits that such an interpolation has been made in the Society's printed copy; and if the interpolation of words, whether adversely controlling the sense or otherwise, in the same character as the original text and without a word of explanation or caution to the reader, is not "a fraud on those who shall read that reconstructed paper, I do not understand what the meaning of the word 'fraud' is.—if Governor Hall will ask the District Attorney of Bennington-county, that official will tell him that such an interpolation in any document would be, in law, a forgery; and if the Society's Committee of Publication is wise, it will, in this instance, remember the story of the monkey climbing the pole, and maintain, hereafter, a more prudent silence.

My readers can judge between the Magazine and the Governor, in this case.—H. B. D.

† The Governor's conclusions, in this instance, entirely agree with those of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE—a conviction, on such a charge, would necessarily invalidate all title to respectability—and as he has admitted the entire truth of the Magazine's charge of interpolation, I am happy in the knowledge that the Governor, as well as the Magazine, will look elsewhere, hereafter, for an authoritative copy of the documents under review, than in the Society's *Collections*.—H. B. D.

him to notice the work of a Vermonter without, as in his present article, impugning the motives of the writer, misrepresenting his statements, and charging him with unfounded delinquencies.* This continued exhibition of his bitter hostility, together with the seriousness of his present charge against the integrity of Vermont history, must be our apology for a somewhat extended examination of the grounds on which he founds his criticisms.

Mr. Dawson commences his present strictures by stating that, in their publication, the Society "employed a *copy* instead of the *original manuscripts*." It is true that copies only were employed, and for the reason which is fully declared in their publication, that no originals could be found. Parts of the proceedings of several Conventions were found in newspapers, and in other publications, and in different manuscripts, as before stated, the most important of the latter being a copy of the proceedings of several Conventions, furnished by the Hon. James H. Phelps, of West Townshend, Vermont, which manuscript, and the use made of it, are particularly mentioned in the publication itself. The copy, as Judge Phelps informed the Committee, was made by him in 1853, from the back part of an old account-book, in which Doctor Jonas Fay, who had been Clerk of some of the Conventions, had made charges against his patients for medical services. The book was in the possession of Judge Phelps but a short time, and he was unable to give any certain account of what became of it, though he thought it might probably be found in the possession of some of Doctor Fay's descendants. Inquiries were made for it, in quarters where it was thought most likely to be found, but without success, and it was accordingly stated (page 49) that it was "not known to be now in existence.†"

Mr. Dawson, in his criticism, undertakes to show the inaccuracy of the Society's publication by comparing it with what he calls "*the original Minutes, as left by the Secretary who wrote them*;" but he does not state the form in which those "*original Minutes*" have been preserved, or how or where he obtained them, or give any description of them, or specify any evidence of their authenticity.‡ As the Society's publication

shows that it was made from *copies*, because no originals could be found, and as what he claims as the original Minutes must have come recently into his hands, it would seem to have been no more than fair for him to give some account of his newly-discovered manuscript, before condemning others for not following it, and thus also enabling others, as well as himself, to form an opinion of what his new discovery really was, and to judge of the credit to which it was entitled. It might possibly turn out that Mr. Dawson has not in his possession "the original Minutes" of any of these Conventions, but only copies,—perhaps only the same book from which Judge Phelps copied—the entries in which were certified—not as "*original Minutes*," but as *copies*—sometimes with the words "Errors excepted," as may be seen in the Society's publication at pages 13, 15, 16, 20, 34, 37, 42.* But, whatever may be the character of the manuscript by which Mr. Dawson calls in question the correctness of the Society's publication, it will be found, on examination, that several of the most important defects which he names have no existence in point of fact, and that the residue of them are so trivial and harmless as to preclude any idea, in an unprejudiced mind, that they could have been made for any sinister purpose whatever, much less for that which Mr. Dawson supposes, of enhancing the credit of Vermont at the expense of New York. In an account of some twenty different Conventions held during a period of twelve years, from 1765 to 1777, which covers over fifty pages of

sent, nor is it, now, necessary to gratify his idle curiosity. The Magazine plainly described its authority as "the original Minutes, as left by the Secretary who wrote them;" and, whatever may be the failings of the Magazine, it has not yet been obliged to resort to falsehood, in order to bolster up a bad cause—Governor Hall will understand me.

I know of what I write when I say, as I do say, that the Magazine's words meant what they clearly indicated as their legitimate meaning—its authority for condemning, as unfaithful, what the Society had published, was "THE ORIGINAL MINUTES, AS LEFT BY THE SECRETARY WHO WROTE THEM;" and if that description shall not be satisfactory, the Governor can make the most of what he assumes to be the deficiency of his information.—H. B. D.

* The Society's published version of the *Minutes* referred to, were printed from a copy of Judge Phelps's copy, of somebody else's copy, of "the original Minutes, as left by the Secretary who wrote them;" and that precious manuscript, before the printers were allowed to see it, was further filtered through a *portion* of the Committee, and doctored up, so as to make it less disagreeable to some Vermont palates, by the interpolations and alterations in the text to which the Magazine referred. It would not have been prudent to entrust in such hands any paper which could possibly make against the pre-conceived ideas of such a Committee; and if the gentleman who was then the honored President of the Vermont Historical Society and a member, if not the Chairman, of the Committee who sent this disputed volume to the press, were now alive, Governor Hall could learn from him not only just why some things were not done, of which the Governor is now so noisy, but, also, just why some others were done, concerning which THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has yet said nothing.—H. B. D.

* [NOTE, BY GOVERNOR HALL.] *Historical Magazine*, I., x., Supplement, 199; II., i., 184; v., 345-347 and 529-401; and vii., 137.

† Reference is made, concerning what THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE really said of the shortcomings of the copyist and proof-readers of the Society's version, to the copy of the Magazine's article, which has been re-produced on page 62, post.

‡ If the reader can discover any wickedness in what he shall find there, or much difference from what the Governor has, himself, said concerning them, I shall be very much surprised.—H. B. D.

§ It was not necessary for the Magazine to anticipate any such doubts as those which Governor Hall has pre-

the volume, and includes the names of more than two hundred different persons, many of them several times repeated, the industry of the critic has enabled him to discover three or four instances in which he claims that either the christian or surname of an individual is wrongly given, and nearly as many in which he says the day of the proper month is erroneously stated, but none of them changing the character of the proceedings in the smallest degree. These, and such like errors, which may be found in almost all publications, and even in the critic's own article—all of which would have been readily accounted for by an impartial reader, as innocent mistakes of the copyist or of the type, with other charges which are unfounded in fact—make up his indictment against the Society for fraud in their publication.*

Mr. Dawson, after stating that "a merely casual glance at the reconstructed record has testified us [him] that it is entirely unreliable as material for history," proceeds to specify what he terms the "more important errors, in this very 'important portion of the volume' of the Society, under separate and distinct heads, fourteen in number, each of which we will now proceed to notice in its order. We shall be obliged to occupy more space in the investigation than we could desire, from the necessity we feel of copying most of the critic's complaints in full, that we may not be accused of doing him injustice in stating them, as well as to exhibit to our readers the temper, or, as the lawyers would call it, the *quo animo*, of his production.

We give SPECIFICATION No. 1 as near as may be, *verbatim et literatim*, as follows:

"1.—The Warrant for the first meeting, dated, 'according to this version, 'ARLINGTON, 10th Decr. 1775' was really dated 'ARLINGTON, 20th Decr. 1775,' and the third article of the 'same Warrant, instead of providing 'To see if the Law of New York shall have free circulation where it *doth* infringe on our properties, or Titles of Lands, or Riots (so called) in defence of the same,' as indicated in this volume, really provided 'to see if the Law of New York shall have free circulation where it *doth* 'not infringe,' etc., a distinction with a difference, which will be useful to those who shall study the temper of the Vermontese of that period, with due attention."

The Convention, of which the notice in the Warrant dated at Arlington was given, was to be holden at Dorset, the sixteenth of January, 1776, and it was certainly of no moment what-

ever, whether it bore date the tenth or the twentieth of December; * and in regard to the other supposed error complained of by Mr. Dawson, we fail to see what "the distinction with a difference" can possibly be. No question depending on the language of the article respecting "the free circulation" of the law of New York appears to have been voted upon. The Convention resulted in a Petition to the Continental Congress, to be allowed, for the preservation of their land-titles, to serve against Great Britain, under the Congress, as inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants, and not under New York, of which Petition the critic afterwards takes special notice. The omission of the word "not" in the Society's publication, if it really was an omission, was doubtless an error of the copyist or the printer, and would have been so regarded by any one not anxiously seeking a pretext for fault-finding.†

No. 2.—Under this specification, Mr. Dawson charges that Oliver *Evits*, and not Oliver *Everts*, was an "Assistant Clerk of the Convention of January 16, 1775," and that it was James *Hard*, and not James *Hurd*, who "served on the Committee to whom the third Article in the Warrant was referred." Well, it may be that Mr. Dawson is right. Both the Assistant Clerk and the Committee-man were persons unknown to fame, and it is impossible now to ascertain exactly how they wrote their names. For to this day *Everts*, *Hard*, and *Hurd* are names of many families in Vermont, and *Evits* is rarely, if indeed ever, used except incorrectly for *Everts*; but what shall be thought of a critic who shall gravely found a charge of fraud against respectable persons, on the discovery of so slight a variation in the spelling of the names of two obscure individuals, who had probably been dead for more than half a century?‡

* The question was one of *accuracy* in the Society's version, and the necessary consequences which depend on accuracy, therein—nothing more. If the Society's version is *inaccurate*, it is necessarily unreliable as an authority, in history: if it is *accurate*, then it may be considered as such an authority. It was for the purpose of instancing such inaccuracies, and thus of impeaching its authority and usefulness, that the Magazine thus referred to the error of the date of this Warrant, without stopping to inquire whether or not this change of date was otherwise mischievous.—H. B. D.

† If there is no difference between the words "where it *doth* infringe" and "where it *doth not* infringe," then Governor Hull's remarks are sensible; but if there is such a difference, the Society's version is a falsification of the truth, to that extent; and the Magazine's notice of it was, to the same extent, justifiable.

My readers can judge between us.—H. B. D.

‡ The reader will perceive, by turning to the copy of what the Magazine really said on this subject—page 64, post—that no such "charge of fraud against respectable persons" as Governor Hull has here mentioned, nor any other "charge," of any kind, except one of *inaccuracy in copying a document*—the exact truth of which charge the Governor does not deny—is to be found, in connection with

* The reader is referred to page 64, post, for what the Magazine said on this portion of the subject, in the criticism which has so much excited the Governor's indignation.—H. B. D.

If we were to follow the example of the critic in cavilling at trifles, we might call his attention to errors of date and of spelling in that part of his own article already noticed, of as great significance as those he charges upon the Society's publication. Thus, in his second specification, he speaks of the meeting at Dorset of which the before-mentioned notice had been given, as having been held "the sixteenth day "of January, 1775," when in fact it was not held till January, 1776, one year after, which is quite as important an error as that complained of by him in the alleged change of date from the twentieth to the tenth of December. Again, in his two first specifications, he uses three times a word which we have not been able to find in any modern dictionary in our possession, viz. the word *Warrent*. We suppose Mr. Dawson wrote the word *Warrant*, with the letter *a* in the last syllable, and that the heedless typesetter changed it into an *e*, three times repeated, which makes it quite as great a blunder as the supposed change of the name *Hard* to *Hurd* by mistaking the letter *a* for the letter *u*. We are not so uncharitable as to charge Mr. Dawson with intentional fraud in this matter.*

Charge No. 3 is, that in the Petition to Congress, which was adopted at the January Convention of 1776, before-mentioned, the order of the King in Council making Connecticut river the boundary between New York and New Hampshire, was recorded in the Minutes of the Convention "as of the date of the 4th of July, 'A. D. 1764'; but that in the Society's "reconstructed Minutes," the date is given as the 20th of July, 1764. We do not believe the date was recorded as of the fourth of July in the original *Minutes*, but if it were, it was clearly a clerical mistake, which ought at once to be corrected. The official certified copy of the Order which was sent out from England to Lieutenant-governor Colden, and which he pub-

lished to the settlers, by Proclamation, the tenth of April, 1765, is found in the office of the Secretary of State at Albany, in Volume XCII of Colonial Manuscripts, at page 122. Copies of it are in the fourth volume of *The Documentary History of New York*, at page 574; in Volume III. of Belknap's *New Hampshire*, page 389; and in Slade's *Vermont State Papers*, page 19, all with the date of the twentieth of July, 1764. That date is also given in all histories that treat of the matter. The date of the Declaration of American Independence might as well be stated to have been the twentieth of July, as that of the King's Order to have been the fourth of that month.*

The next specification of Mr. Dawson is as follows:

"4.—In the same Petition and Remonstrance, "reference was made, as duly recorded by the "Clerk of the Convention, on the Minutes of the "Convention, reference was made to the aggregate body of 'Land Traders' whom the "Vermontese were then resisting: in the reconstructed *Minutes*, by interpolating the words "of New York,' those who have controlled the "volume before us have managed to secure a "new weapon for their use, in their contest "with the phantoms, from *New York*, which "have so long haunted them."

The words "reference was made," seem to have been interpolated in this specification. Should not Mr. Dawson call somebody to account for this act of re-construction? If the reader will examine the publication complained of, he will find that the phrase "Land Traders "of New York" is used three times in the Petition, twice on page 17 and once on page 18. In the first instance, "*the Monopolizing Land "Traders of New York*" are charged with being instrumental—after the petitioners had obtained and settled on Grants from New Hampshire—in procuring the King's Order of July, 1764, changing their jurisdiction to New York.

this particular subject, in any portion of what the Magazine said concerning the volume under examination; and he will perceive, too, that the Governor, in this portion of his *Vindication*, at least, has manufactured a falsehood, for the purpose of misrepresenting the Magazine, and without possessing a shadow of truth for a foundation for his untrue statement.

The reader may ascertain something of the Governor's standard for ascertaining who are "respectable persons," from this instance of his own respectability, as a writer of history.—H. B. D.

* The evident errors of the press, in the Magazine's own words, to which the Governor refers, cannot excuse those errors in the Society's versions of the words of others, which are not evident and cannot be ascertained without resorting to other works; nor can they be justified, under any circumstances nor to any extent. They are errors which escaped the observation of both the proof-reader and the printer; and, as such, I condemn them. The Governor's charity is not desired; and he can say of those errors as much or as little as shall best suit his own purposes.—H. B. D.

* The date of the King's Order, *per se*, has nothing to do with this matter; and all the Governor's words, on that subject, are thrown away. The only question was the accuracy of what purported to be a copy of a particular document—the written *Minutes* of a particular meeting—and I repeat what the Magazine said, before, that the Society's copy was inaccurate and, as a copy of the *Minutes* referred to, it is worthless.

The Committee had no right, in any case, to alter a word in any document which it printed: when it violated that well-known rule and altered the text of the document, ever so little, without even noting such alteration in a foot-note, it committed a double wrong—that of stering and that of not noting it—for which there can be no valid excuse, whatever, Governor Hall to the contrary notwithstanding. If the Committee desired to correct an error which existed, in the document, the only way which was open to it was to leave the text unmutated, and append a foot-note, with its own initials, presenting the truth, as it understood it, in its own words.—H. B. D.

In the second place, that "*the Land Traders of New York petitioned the then Governor of that Province for Grants of Land,*" and obtained Grants of land occupied by the petitioners. In the third instance, the petitioners speak of "*the unhappy disputes which have happened between those Land Traders of New York*" and the petitioners. The words above given in Italics are exact quotations from the Petition.

The pith and substance of this complaint (No. 4) is, that by inserting the words "*of New York*" after those of "*Land Traders,*" one *time too many*, "those who have controlled the volume" have constructed "a new weapon" with which to combat New York. It must be a sufficient answer to this complaint, that the *weapon*, whether useful or not in a fight with New York, is by no means a *new* one, but is a weapon that was in existence a long time before the Society's publication was thought of. In Slade's *Vermont State Papers*, published in 1823, pages 61 to 64, the Petition will be found with the words "*Land Traders of New York*" inserted three times precisely as in the Society's publication. The Petition is also printed in the *Rural Magazine*, published at Rutland, by Dacotah Samuel Williams, for the month of May, 1795, (Vol. I., p. 259) with the obnoxious words "*of New York*" following "*Land Traders,*" in all the places where it is found in the Society's volume. The complaint, therefore, of the critic, that "those who have controlled the volume" before us have managed to secure a *new* "weapon for their use, in their contest with the 'phantoms from New York,'" is altogether unfounded, the weapon being at least seventy-five years old.

It seems not a little remarkable that Mr. Dawson, who had the *State Papers* of Mr. Slade before him, while he was preparing his criticism, as will hereafter be seen, should have failed to look into the Petition in that volume. If he had done so, he would have seen that the Society's Committee had nothing to do in constructing the supposed new weapon, and might thus have been spared the unpleasant duty of making a false charge against them. That he heedlessly neglected to notice so obvious a source for information on the subject, certainly cannot serve to strengthen any reputation he may now have for being a thorough and impartial searcher after historical truth.*

* It was no part of "Mr. Dawson's" duty, nor was it any part of the Committee's, to turn to Slade's *State Papers* for the purpose of "doctoring" any manuscript, in order to make its contents more agreeable to any body. As I have said, before, it was the Committee's business to re-produce the *Minutes* as it found them—the text of those *Minutes* should have remained unaltered—and if the Committee desired to show its superior learning, by a tilt with the author of those *Minutes*, it should have displayed that learning in its foot-notes, over its own initials.—H. B. D.

But there could be no motive whatever for "those who controlled the volume" to insert the words "*of New York*" in the manner complained of, for their insertion or omission could not alter the sense of the Petition, in the slightest degree. Mr. Dawson has not condescended to state in which of the three places of the Petition the words "*of New York*" have been *interpolated*. It could not have been where the Land Traders were first mentioned, because it would have then been indispensable to state what Land Traders were intended, and the words "*of New York*" would be necessarily used. It could not have been in the second instance, because the words "*that Province,*" which follow "*Land Traders*" in the same sentence, could refer back to no other word but "New York," which must have been previously used. It must, then, have been in regard to the third, in which the offence was charged, and what is the offence? It is this, that after the term "*Land Traders of New York*" had been twice used in the Petition, the same Land Traders had, in Mr. Dawson's manuscript, been designated as "*those Land Traders,*" and that the Committee had improperly added to "*those*" "*Land Traders*" the obnoxious words "*of New York.*" Every one will readily see that "*those*" "*Land Traders*" of Mr. Dawson were the identical "*Land Traders of New York*" which had been previously mentioned, and that the additional words, "*of New York,*" did not, and could not, change the meaning of the language in the slightest degree. But if the additional words had been *newly* inserted, as charged by Mr. Dawson, the idea that they could in any way have been used as a "weapon" against New York must be set down as a mere "phantom" of the critic's own "haunted" imagination.*

SPECIFICATION No. 3 is in the following words:

"5.—The *official signatures* of the Chairman and Secretary of the Dorset Convention of the "sixteenth of January, 1776, which this version "of the *Minutes* presents, in the record of the "same Petition and Remonstrance, at the foot of "the nineteenth page of this volume, *are not in "the original Minutes, as left by the Secretary "who wrote them;* and, to those who are unacquainted with the facts, this strange error, of "either the Editors or the Printer of this volume, "will serve to destroy the usefulness of the entire

* As I have said before, the question is one of *accuracy in copying*: nothing else. I insist, in that connection, that if the Committee had no right to *change* a word of the text, by substituting another for it, its right to *add* any words is quite as invalid—it had no more right to *add* the words "*of New York,*" anywhere, in what purported to be the *Minutes* of a meeting, than it had to *change* a date, in the same paper.—H. B. D.

"entry, and to mislead those who are groping, in this dark subject, for the exact truth of the matter."

The *Italics* in this quotation, as well as the capitals, are the critic's, not ours. In making this charge, Mr. Dawson must have forgotten to take even his "merely casual glance at the 'teachings of this reconstructed record,' with which he commenced his notice of it, for the charge is wholly without foundation, in fact. The conclusion of "the Petition and Remonstrance" is, indeed, on the nineteenth page, but it ends with the words, "as in duty bound, 'your honors' petitioners shall ever pray," without any *signatures* whatever—"official" or otherwise. It is followed, near "the foot of the 'nineteenth page,'" by the proceedings of the Convention which adopted it, which proceedings are concluded and certified towards the middle of the succeeding page. The publication, in this respect, is entirely without error. The proceedings of the Convention of the sixteenth of January, 1776, are given precisely as found in Slade's *State Papers* and in the *Rural Magazine*, before referred to, and word for word, as copied by Judge Phelps from the manuscript before described, and which is presumed to be that which is now in the possession of Mr. Dawson. We venture to say that if he will allow the Society's publication to be compared with his own manuscript, it will be found to agree with it *verbatim et literatim*.

If the absolute falsehood of this charge was not seen by Mr. Dawson, he at least made it without any examination into its truth, and with a heedlessness of the reputation of others which cannot entitle him to any special commendation as a model of historical research and fairness. He must at least be content to accept for himself the sentence he so flippantly passed upon the Editors, and admit that this "strange error" of his should "serve to destroy the usefulness" and credit of his "entire" article.*

* If the two lines, at the foot of the nineteenth page of the Society's volume, in the form and type in which the Society has presented them, do not represent an official verification of what precedes them, they represent nothing; and Governor Hall may make the most of my assertion, in this instance, that his powers of invention shall permit.

I fancy that I understand the difference between the recognized form of an entry, in a Minute-book, of the names of the officers of a meeting and that of the official signatures of those officers, appended to a Minute, for the purpose of verifying it; and I say that, while the Secretary who wrote the Minutes of the Convention of July 24, 1776, as clearly understood that difference as I do, and practiced it, while making his entry, the ignorance of the Committee of the Vermont Historical Society, when it disregarded that difference and blundered into an error, in the case before me, was equalled only by the assurance of Governor Hall, in defending that error, and his impudence in charging "absolute falsehood" on those who have differed from him.

In using these strong words I say just what I mean and

The following is the next specification in order:

"6.—The interpolation of a line, assigning a motive for the sudden attempt of Heman Allen to withdraw the insurgents' Petition and Remonstrance from before the Continental Congress, was simply a piece of impertinence or the part of the Editors and is a fraud on those who shall read these re-constructed Minutes. There is no such reason assigned, in the real Minutes, as written by the Secretary of the Convention."

Doubtless a reader of these strictures of the critic would infer from his language that the Editors he mentions had inserted in their publication certain words which did not belong there, in such a manner as to give their readers to understand that they formed a part of the original Journal. They have done no such thing. They have inserted words between brackets—[thus]—as an indication that perhaps an omission had been made in the journal, which those words would supply. This practice is quite too common to deceive any one. It is indeed always understood to amount to a statement that the words thus included in brackets do *not* form a part of the text; and it is presumed that few persons other than Mr. Dawson—and he perhaps only in an emergency—would think of founding a charge of fraud upon it.*

Heman Allen had been charged with the presentation of the Petition of the sixteenth of January, 1776, to Congress, and his account of his proceedings with it was entered on the Journal of the Convention of the twenty-fourth of July, following. His statement of the withdrawal of the Petition, thus entered, closed with the words, "the Petition not being ready at hand at that time," which seemed inconsistent with the fact of its withdrawal. On recurring to the Journal of Congress it was found that that body, on the

mean just what I say: if Governor Hall desires to be treated as I should have been glad to have treated him, he must show, in his conduct, that he is entitled to greater courtesy than I have, in this instance, extended to him.—H. B. D.

* There is no one who better knows the pettyfogging of this paragraph than the writer of it; and there is no one who would sooner detect the exact character of the excuse, if offered by another, than he.

If the Committee had desired to explain the text of a document, as I have said before, a foot-note, over its own initials, afforded the *well-known* and *recognized* vehicle for doing so: if, however, from any cause, the Committee desired to insert such new matter in the text of an *unquoted* document, it could only do so, properly, by inserting that new matter, in *Italic type* and within brackets—if, as in the case before us, there was a "perhaps" in the case, a "query" (?) should have been added, within the brackets, to secure the reader from any misuse of the interpolated matter. Did the Committee adopt the usual and recognized course, in order to protect its readers from regarding as *Minutes* what was only—something else? No.—H. B. D.

fourth of June, 1776, passed a Resolution in relation to it as follows :

"Resolved that Heman Allen have leave to withdraw the Petition by him delivered in behalf of the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants, he representing that he has left at home some papers and vouchers, necessary to support the allegations therein contained."

It probably occurred to the "Editors" that it was "the papers and vouchers" mentioned in the Resolution of Congress, rather than the Petition, which were "not at hand," and for that reason words to such effect were inserted in brackets, when the conclusion of Mr. Allen's account would be as follows :

"[Some papers and vouchers necessary to support the allegations in] 'the Petition not being ready at hand at that time.'"

For this suggestion in brackets, reference was made to the proceedings of Congress on the subject, in Slade's *State Papers* and the *Early History of Vermont*, so that every reader might know on what authority it was made, and judge for himself what credit ought to be given to it. It is of very slight importance whether the suggestion be considered as entitled to credit or not. It is but a mere suggestion and certainly furnishes no ground on which to predicate a charge of fraud.*

SPECIFICATION No. 7.—In the proceedings of the Dorset Convention of the twenty-fifth of September, 1776, which cover ten pages of the Society's publication, in which the names of fifty-one members and of thirty-five towns which they represented are given, Mr. Dawson has been able to find barely one grave error, and it is this, that Mr. Abraham Ives, instead of representing Wallingford, really represented N. Wal-

lingford. He announces his important discovery of this offensive act of reconstruction in the following grave language :

"7.—In the Dorset Convention of the twenty-fifth of September, 1776, 'Mr. Abraham Ives' really represented 'N. Wallingford,' 'wherever that town may have been : not 'Wallingford,' as these re-constructed *Minutes* 'would have us suppose.'"

Well, all we can say about it is that we have heard of but one township of Wallingford, in Vermont, and that in the list of members and towns of this Convention in Slade's *State Papers*, (p. 66,) and also in a similar list in the *Rural Magazine*, published in 1795, (Vol. I., 369,) Mr. Abraham Ives is made to represent Wallingford, precisely as in the Society's publication, and not N. Wallingford. As our critic requires N. Wallingford to be represented, "wherever that town may have been," it seems he would have us suppose that Vermont was honored on that occasion by a carpet-bagger from some other State. Somewhat careless work this, for a critic in history.*

The seven remaining specifications of error discovered by Mr. Dawson relate to the Convention of the fifteenth of January, 1777, at which the independence of the New Hampshire Grants was declared. At the commencement of the Journal of this Convention, as given in the Society's publication, p. 37, it was stated that a part was taken from Slade's *State Papers*, and the residue from the manuscript furnished by Judge Phelps. Ira Allen was the Clerk of the Convention, and the manuscript of Doctor Fay, from which Judge Phelps copied, does not purport to have been recorded by Doctor Fay, but to be a copy from that of Ira Allen, as may be seen at p. 42. Judge Phelps did not copy from

* Governor Hall having admitted the truth of the specification, the charge of inaccuracy necessarily goes with it; whether or not the Committee thereby inflicted "a fraud" on those who shall read these re-constructed *Minutes*, others can determine as well as I, on examination.

The fact is a very simple one. Heman Allen reported to the Convention that a certain Petition which had been presented to the Congress, at Philadelphia, for reasons assigned, was to have been withdrawn before that body; that a Motion to that effect, permitting that withdrawal, was duly entered on the Minutes of the Congress; but, because the Petition itself was not "ready at hand, at the time," it was not procured, in form, and so could not be returned to the Convention, with his Report. It is evident that the want of the "papers and vouchers necessary to support the allegations in" the Petition, may have influenced Mr. Allen in making the request for the withdrawal of the Petition; but that gentleman did not see fit to make that fact known, in his Report to the Convention; the Secretary made no mention of it, on his *Minutes*; and no one except Governor Hall would have thought of doing differently—least of all would any one, except himself, have interpolated the words under consideration in a form to entirely change the tenor of the entry, as he has done.

If Governor Hall had read the entry dispassionately he would have seen that Mr. Allen's words: "the Petition

"not being ready at hand at the time," referred only to the reason for the non-return of the instrument to himself, by the Secretary of the Congress, not, as the Governor assumes, to the Motion for its withdrawal from before the Congress.

For the reason, therefore, that the Committee had no right whatever to meddle with the text of the document, either by omission, or interpolation, or alteration, and for the further reason that, by its interpolation, the Committee has changed the character of the entry and may mislead its readers, as to its meaning, it has inflicted "a fraud" on "those who shall read these re-constructed *Minutes*," whether the publication of that stern fact shall please the Governor or not; and whether he shall like it or not, it does not become him to put on any airs concerning it.—H. B. D.

* Governor Hall may suppose what he pleases: the *Minute*, as presented in the Society's volume, is not correct; and just there is the offense of which the Magazine complained.

Possibly, if the Governor had desired, he could have found the missing town among the sixteen towns, East of the Connecticut-river, which the same "Green-mountain Boys" unsuccessfully attempted to gobble from New Hampshire—a series of communities and an attempt at fraud, in the Vermontese of that day, which the Governor, very conveniently, says nothing about.—H. B. D.

Doctor Fay's manuscript that portion of the proceedings which had been printed in Slade, but made notes of the points in which he saw they varied, and from his notes a few supposed errors of the type in Slade were corrected. In a single instance, of no great importance, the text in the *State Papers* was preferred to the copy of Doctor Fay, for reasons which will be given hereafter.*

In further proof of the supposed dishonest purposes of the Editors of the Society's publication,† Mr. Dawson insists that they have made two men represent *one* town in the Convention, when, in reality, they were the representatives of *two*—each of a separate town. This grave charge is introduced as follows :

"8.—In the Westminster Convention of January 15, 1777, this version of the *Minutes* of 'that body would have; us believe that 'Lt. 'Leonard Spaulding' and 'Lt. Dennis Lockland' jointly represented 'Dummerston,' and that the town of 'Putney' was not represented in that Convention, by any one: the fact is, that 'Dummerston' had only *one* delegate—Lieut. Leonard Spaulding—; that 'Putney' *was* represented in the Convention; and that 'Lieut. Dennis Lockland' was *her* Delegate, instead of Dummerston's."

We are very glad Putney as well as Dummerston was represented in this Convention. It adds to its importance by showing that a larger number of towns participated in making the Declaration of Independence than had been supposed. Thanks to the critic for furnishing the "Vermontese" with this "new weapon for their use in the contest with the phantoms from New York." The error in the publication was

copied from Slade's *State Papers*, where we suppose it must have been innocently made, by either the copyist or the printer. Tost Mr. Dawson's authority be doubted, we add that in this case he has stated the fact. The *Vermont Almanac and Register* for 1795, printed at Windsor, by Alden Spooner, confirms Mr. Dawson's statement.*

SPECIFICATION No. 9 charges that *Joseph Williams*, and not "Josiah" Williams, represented Pownall in this Convention, which is doubtless true, as we find the name given as Major *Joseph Williams* by both Slade and Spooner. "Josiah" was a wrongreading of the manuscript copy, not chargeable to the Editors.†

Mr. Dawson's next specification is as follows :

"10.—The re-constructed *Minutes* of the same Convention present a formal introduction of "seven lines, to the Report on what is, in fact, Vermont's Declaration of Independence—certainly, as far as Vermont is concerned, an instrument of the first importance, as material for history—the original *Minutes* of the Convention itself, which constitute the original record of the paper, presented no such introductory matter, nor any other—our friends of the Committee to the contrary notwithstanding."

It was stated by the Committee, at the commencement of the proceedings of this Convention of January, 1777, at page 37, that the part of the Journal which is here complained of, was copied from Slade's *State Papers*; and if Mr. Dawson looked into the Declaration of Independence, as printed in that volume, he must have found those seven lines precisely as in the Society's publication.‡ He was not a stranger to

* The way in which the Committee manufactured the version of the *Minutes* of the Convention of the fifteenth of January, 1777, as that process has been described, by Governor Hall, in this paragraph, is very interesting; and it will serve, very well, to show just what that made-up version of those *Minutes* is really not worth, "as an authority, in history," and how justly the Magazine condemned it.

I am quite sure the readers of the Magazine, with this confession * before them, will agree with me, when I say that what thus purports to be a copy of a document, which copy has been *manufactured*, as mosaic is manufactured, from fragments of Judge Phelps's "notes of the points in which he saw" something differed from something else, and fragments of Slade's *State Papers*, as the Magazine pointedly said of it, is "entirely useless, as an authority, in historical enquiry."—H. B. D.

† As no such charge has been made, by any one, in connection with this portion of the Society's volume, Governor Hall is quite welcome to all the sympathy which he can secure from such a fraudulent misrepresentation of the truth as this is.—H. B. D.

* I say "confession," because what Governor Hall has herein called Judge Phelps's "notes of the points in which he saw they" (*what he copied from and Slade's State Papers*) "varied," the Committee was pleased to call, in its volume, "the manuscript of the Hon. James H. Phelps."—H. B. D.

* As the Governor has been pleased to admit that the Committee's version of the *Minutes* under consideration is *inaccurate*, to the extent of this "Specification," at least, it is fair to suppose that that distinguished Vermonter will also admit the necessary consequence—that, to that extent, at least, the Committee's version is entirely useless, as "an authority, in historical enquiry," as the Magazine asserted in the paragraph under review.—H. B. D.

† The same stubborn truth which Governor Hall encountered in what he has designated "Specification No. 8," has again forced him to admit, in this paragraph, that the Committee's mosaic is *inaccurate* and, to that extent, at least, "useless, as an authority in his enquiry."—H. B. D.

‡ As I have said, before, it is no part of my business, now as it any part of the Committee's, to enquire what Governor Slade had written on the subject under consideration. The Committee was not writing a narrative of the proceedings of the Convention of January 15, 1777; and it did not concern that Committee, in the particular duty which it had before it, what any body had said concerning the Convention, except the Secretary of that body, in the recorded *Minutes* of its proceedings. It was simply an impertinence, on the part of the Committee, therefore, to dovetail seven lines from Slade's *State Papers* into what they would have their readers believe are the *Minutes* of the Convention of January 15, 1777; and no one knows the truth of what I say better than the venerable apologist of these wrongdoers.—H. B. D.

Mr. Slade's work. In his subsequent Specification, No. 12, he speaks of Mr. Slade's "well known Vermont State Papers," and proceeds at once to make an important quotation from that work. The first six lines of the quotation are from the same page (69) on which the above "formal introduction" complained of is printed. We are, therefore, justified in assuming that Mr. Dawson did know, very well knew, that his proscribed introductory matter had been in print in that "well known" work for nearly fifty years. But with this knowledge he chose to treat the origin of those seven lines as a mystery, and to speak of them as if "his friends of the Committee" had surreptitiously foisted them, for some sinister purpose, into their volume.* He asserts, positively, that "the original Minutes of the Convention presented no such introductory matter." We deny his authority thus to speak. We deny that he has in his possession the original Minutes of this Convention, and therefore controvert his assertion that the introductory matter was not in the original Minutes. We confidently believe it was there, and shall continue in that belief until Mr. Dawson proves the contrary by the production of the original Minutes.

We suppose the manuscript, which Mr. Dawson calls the original minutes, is the book of Doctor Fay, which was seen and copied by Judge Phelps, as before stated. Of this Convention of January, 1777, Ira Allen, and not Doctor Fay, was the Clerk; and at the end of its proceedings in Doctor Fay's book, as copied by Judge Phelps and printed in the Society's volume, page 42,† it is certified, not as the original Minutes, but as "A true copy from the original."

The introductory matter complained of, is in the following words:

* If it will please the Governor, I will prick not only this bubble of his blowpipe, but others, in various parts of his *Vindication*, by remarking that I do not remember that I have had any occasion to refer to Slade's *State Papers* for at least five years past; that I do not remember of having seen a copy of that "well known" work during the past five years; that I am very sure that I have not opened a copy of it since the Society's version of the *Minutes* was originally sent, as "copy," to the compositors who "set it up," in type, for the printers.

I own a copy of the book in question; but the last time it was alluded to, in conversation, or thought of, by me, in my memory does not deceive me, was when one of the Committee of Publication of the Vermont Historical Society's first volume of *Collections*—that under consideration—was my welcome guest, on my own premises.

Will Governor Hall please to understand me, and to tell no more falsehoods on the subject now under notice?

† A few lines above, Governor Hall said, "Judge Phelps did not copy from Doctor Fay's manuscript that portion of the proceedings which had been printed in Slade, but made note of the points in which he saw they varied, and, from his notes, a few supposed errors in Slade were corrected"—the supposition of the Committee was thus its standard of authority; and both the Manuscript which Judge Phelps "did not copy" and Slade were alike discredited.

"To the honorable Convention of Representatives, from the several towns on the West and East side of the range of Green Mountains, within the New Hampshire Grants, in Convention assembled:

"Your Committee, to whom was referred the form of a Declaration setting forth the right of the inhabitants of said New Hampshire Grants to have to form themselves into a separate and independent State or Government, beg leave to report, viz.:"

That these introductory words were in the Report as originally made to the Convention, there can be no reasonable doubt, and we think as little that they would be copied into the Journal, as was the introductory matter to the Report of another Committee, on the next page of the Journal. This "formal introduction" is found in a copy of the proceedings, published as long ago as 1823. It seems much more likely that they were omitted by Dr. Fay in his copy from Ira Allen's *Minutes*, either by accident or from the belief that they might be properly left out, than that any one had undertaken to prepare them without authority to be inserted in Mr. Slade's publication. They were, indeed, merely formal, and do not alter the meaning of the proceedings, in any degree whatever; and why Mr. Dawson, even if he had been ignorant of their antiquity, should undertake to magnify their insertion in the Society's volume into an offence against historical integrity, is a question which he alone can solve.*

* With the evidence before me, already, of the desperation of my venerable friend, I need feel no surprise at the demonstration which he has made in the paragraph before me.

The reader of the Committee's version of the Report in question will very readily perceive that that Report opened with the words: "The Committee appointed to bring in a draught of a Declaration, setting forth the right of the inhabitants of that district of land, commonly called and known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants, have, to form themselves into a State or independent Government;" and no one but such an one as the venerable vindicator of the last Committee's blunders would have supposed that it was necessary for the Committee of the Convention, after it had thus opened its Report, to re-commence that Report, as he would have us believe—least of all would that Convention's Committee, after reciting the fact that it was "appointed to bring in a draught of a Declaration," re-commence its Report; contradict that "and, nine lines below, coolly recite an antagonist-recital; and, the fact, that it had been appointed to consider the form of a Declaration," drawn up by somebody else, rather than "to bring in a draught of a Declaration," from its own capable pen.

If Governor Hall and his associates had been competent to discharge the duty which properly devolved upon them, as the Society's Committee on Publication, they would have let the record of the opening of the Convention, "according to adjournment," on "Friday morning," form a distinct paragraph; and then, opening another paragraph with the next subject, they would have done as the Clerk of the Convention did, and copy the Report of the Committee, *in extenso*, as a portion of the *Minutes* of the Convention's proceedings, without enquiring what either Governor Slade or any other person, not members of the Committee, might be pleased to have said on the subject, and

The next CHARGE OF RECONSTRUCTION, is as follows:

"11.—In the same important instrument, as originally recorded, a most important extract from the Journals of the Continental Congress, certified by the Secretary of that Congress, was introduced, as the foundation of the Convention's proposed action on that subject; in the reconstructed Minutes, the record of that Resolution is changed in its terms, and the verification of the Secretary is altogether omitted—a curious and significant coincident."

The part of the Society's work, here complained of, is copied literally from Slade's *State Papers*, without diminution or addition, as Mr. Dawson well knew, and if it contains evidences of "reconstruction," he also knew they were of too great antiquity to be chargeable to the Committee of Publication. The "important extract" from the Journals of the Continental Congress is the Resolution of that body of May 15, 1776, which is copied from Slade, in the following words:

"Resolved, That it be recommended to the respective Assemblies and Conventions of the United Colonies, where no Government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs, has been heretofore established, to adopt such Government as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and of America in general."

Mr. Dawson's charge is quite indefinite, but on thorough examination we are satisfied it can be no other than the discovery, by him, after diligent search, that the word "*heretofore*" which precedes the word "established," in the Resolution, and which is thus copied from Slade, is printed "*hitherto*," in the Journal of Congress. We are unable to find any other change in the terms of the Resolution. To be sure this does not make the slightest change in the meaning of the Resolution, the Governments which had been "*heretofore* established" being those and those only which had been "*hitherto* established." But Mr. Dawson considers this altogether harmless change made in print nearly fifty years ago, which there could never have been any motive for making, and which could not have been otherwise than accidental, as of sufficient import-

ance to sustain a charge of a dishonest purpose in "his friends of the Committee.*" The Committee, he would insinuate, wickedly changed the terms of the Resolution by substituting the word "*heretofore*" for "*hitherto*," and then to soften their condemnation, if detected, suppressed the Secretary's verification of the Resolution, which is in Slade (77,) but *not* in the Report quoted from Slade (69). These two acts, we suppose, constitute the pith and point, if there be any, of the "curious and significant coincidence" with which his charge concludes; and all this, when Mr. Dawson had full knowledge that the Committee had nothing to do in originating the changes of which he complains. He must have been extremely anxious to discover an occasion for fault-finding; or he could never have resorted to so flimsy a pretense for it.

CHARGE No. 12.—Mr. Dawson, in his Specification No. 12, makes a quotation of some length from the Declaration of Independence of the New Hampshire Grants, as printed in Mr. Slade's work,† which he styles Mr. Slade's "well known

* The Committee's version of the *Minutes* in question is inaccurate; and it does not help the Society's volume a particle, that Slade's *State Papers* are equally inaccurate; both are equally "useless, as an authority, in historical enquiry," simply because of their inaccuracy.

There is neither "a charge of a dishonest purpose" nor an "insinuation" of such dishonesty, in the "charge" under consideration; and Governor Hall is welcome to all the comfort which he can find in what is, in every respect, an untrue statement to the contrary.—H. B. D.

† Governor Hall can find nothing in the Magazine to warrant his statement that anybody, in that work, "makes" a quotation of some length from the Declaration of "Independence of the New Hampshire Grants, as printed in Mr. Slade's work," as there is no such quotation—the second instance of his misrepresentation of the truth, in this respect, in this *Vindication*.

Governor Hall admits that "it is doubtless correct" that the original manuscript, and Judge Phelps's manuscript, and Slade's *State Papers*, alike, contained certain specified words, in their respective versions of the *Minutes* of the Convention referred to; and, with peculiar coolness, he admits that, by an "act of the Committee," those words, thus specified, were omitted from what that Committee was pleased to publish as the Journals of the Convention which originally contained them.

I have denied, as emphatically as I could, that the Committee possessed any authority, whatever, or any respectable precedent, for either adding to, or omitting from, or making any change in, the phraseology of any document, to the extent of either a word or a sentence; and I repeat, here, that self-evident conclusion. I aver, here, without fear of respectable contradiction, that when the Committee openly disregarded every existing written authority, concerning the text of the original *draft* of the Declaration, and, simply because that Committee ignorantly "believed" differently, omitted a very important portion of that original *draft*, it forfeited whatever title of respect it might have possessed, previously, as trustworthy promoters of historical literature; or as official representatives of a respectable Historical Society. If the Committee had a private theory of its own, which contradicted every existing authority, it could have ventilated that theory in footnotes or independent essays, as I have already stated: the original standards of authority, whether in the original manuscript or in recognized copies, should have been regarded as sacred; and they would have been thus regarded, had any other than either incompetent or unfaithful hands manipulated them.—H. B. D.

without dovetailing into the record a floating fragment of some other Report—that of Heman Allen's Committee. For instance, to which this Committee's *draft* was referred in order "to prepare the Declaration for the press"—or the invention of some other blockhead, neither of which, by any possibility, belongs there.

My readers will determine what credit, as a writer of anything, Governor Hall is entitled to; and they will probably say, with me, that that cause must be a pretty poor one which can secure no stronger or better informed champion than he.—H. B. D.

"*Vermont State Papers*," to show that the new State was therein called "New Connecticut alias Vermont;" and he also refers to the before-mentioned manuscript, from which Judge Phelps copied, as containing the same two names, in which he is doubtless correct. In the copy in the Society's volume the words "alias Vermont" were omitted, and in their place were inserted two brackets, and between them was a space sufficient to contain the words, with a reference to a foot-note, thus—[¹]—which note was as follows:

"Here, in the copy in Slade's *State Papers*, the words '*alias Vermont*' are inserted; but that they could not have been in the original Declaration appears from the subsequent use of the name 'New Connecticut,' alone, and from the proceedings in the Convention of the 4th of June following, where the name was changed to 'Vermont.'—J. Allen's *Vermont*, 79; and H. Hall's *Vermont*, 239, 297."

Mr. Dawson discovers, in this suggestion of error in the two copies of the Declaration, a very great outrage. He says that both the before-mentioned copies—from Slade and Phelps—were "before the Committee when it issued this reconstructed record; and we confess," he says, "we are not acquainted with the principle which warranted the Committee, in the face of the two distinct copies of the original, to not only omit from its version of the *Minutes* the words '*alias Vermont*,' but to discredit the fidelity of the only text which it employed, by doubting the existence of the words elsewhere;" and he concludes his condemnation of this act of the Committee, with the sad reflection that "*Such is Vermont history, as written by Vermont historians*." There was certainly no attempt of the Committee, in this case, to practice a deception in regard to the name; and, whatever may be thought of the credit to which their suggestion—that the "*alias Vermont*" was not in the original Declaration—is entitled, it is presumed there are few persons, besides Mr. Dawson, who will be disposed to treat it as furnishing ground for any special stigma upon Vermont or Vermont historians.

We will now proceed to give, as briefly as we can, some reasons for the belief that the words "*alias Vermont*" were not in the original declaration. In the language found in the *Vermont State Papers*, and quoted by Mr. Dawson, the territory of the New Hampshire Grants "is hereby declared, forever hereafter, to be considered as a separate, free, and independent jurisdiction or State; by the name, and forever hereafter to be called, known, and distinguished by the name of *New Connecticut, alias Vermont*." The idea that the Convention should solemnly resolve and enter on their record

of the formation of a new State, for all time, that it should, forever thereafter, have and be called by two names, or by either of two, as any and every person pleased, is, certainly, in a very high degree, improbable. We suppose it more probable that the first name of the State was "*New Connecticut*" only; and, that after the name had been changed to "Vermont," the words "*alias Vermont*" were added by way of explanation that "New Connecticut" had become "Vermont" and without the expectation that the added words would be treated as part of the original record. That the "*alias Vermont*" could not have been in the original Declaration seems to be very clearly indicated by the evidence referred to in the foregoing note, which we will now introduce:

I.—The Declaration was adopted by the tenth vote of the Convention, after which "New Connecticut" is twice given in the Journal as the name of the State; and no further mention is made of "Vermont,"—thus:

"12th. *Voted*, That the Declaration of *New Connecticut* be inserted in the newspapers.

"13th. *Voted*, That Captain Heman Allen, Col. Thomas Chandler, and Nathan Clark, Esq., be a Committee to prepare the Declaration for the Press, as soon as may be.

"14th. *Voted*, That Doct. Jonas Fay, Col. Thomas Chittenden, Doct. Reuben Jones, Col. Jacob Bailey and Capt. Heman Allen be the Delegates to carry the Remonstrance and Petition to the Hon. Continental Congress and further to negotiate business in behalf of *New Connecticut*."—*Vt. Hist. Collections*, i., 41.

II.—The revised Declaration, as prepared for the Press, in pursuance of the 13th vote of the Convention, was published in the *Connecticut Courant* for March 17, 1777, which revised Declaration concludes in these words, "The said State hereafter to be called by the name of '*New Connecticut*.'"—*Ibid*, 47.

III.—The January Convention of 1777 adjourned to meet at Windsor, the fourth day of the following June. The proceedings of this Convention commence as follows:

"NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS } Windsor,
"(*alias*) NEW CONNECTICUT; { June 4th, 1777.
"Convention opened according to adjournment," &c.—*Ibid*, 48.

The following are extracts from the Journal, of the further proceedings of this Convention; which were altogether inconsistent with the supposition that the name "*Vermont*" could have been, in any way, used at its previous meeting:

"STATE OF VERMONT,

"In General Convention,

"Windsor, June 4, 1777.

"Whereas, this Convention did at their Ses-

"sion in Westminster, the 15th day of January last, among other things declare the district of land commonly called and know by the name of the New Hampshire Grants to be 'a free and independent State capable of regulating their own internal police in all and every respect whatsoever, and that it should hereafter be known by the name of New Connecticut:'"

* * * "and Whereas, this Convention have been informed that a district of land lying on the Susquehanna-river, has been heretofore and is now know by the name of New Connecticut, which was unknown to them until sometime since the Declaration at Westminster aforesaid; and as it would be inconvenient in many respects for two separate districts on this Continent to have the same name:

"Resolved, Therefore, unanimously, that the said district described in the preamble to the Declaration at Westminster aforesaid, shall now hereafter be called and known by the name of 'VERMONT.'"—*Ibid*, 50.

Afterwards, at the same Convention, the question was proposed whether the members would proceed to business on the former Declaration at Westminster, "with this alteration only, that 'instead of New Connecticut the said district should ever be known by the name of VERMONT;' and it was voted by the seventy-one members present in the affirmative.—*Ibid*, 51.

The official proceedings of these two Conventions of January and June, 1777, seem, conclusively, to show that the first name given to the State must have been "New Connecticut" only, and that afterwards the name "VERMONT" was substituted for it.

IV.—Further, Ira Allen, who, as we have seen, was Clerk of the January Convention at which this Declaration of Independence was made, gives, in his *History of Vermont*, the substance of it, in nearly the same language as it is in Slade's *State Papers*, in which it is declared that the State is "to be forever hereafter called, known, and distinguished by the name of 'New Connecticut,'" without any mention of "Vermont." Mr. Allen also afterwards says that the name "Vermont" was given to the State by Dr. Thomas Young of Philadelphia; and that the Delegates of the January Convention, who had been appointed to present their Declaration to the Continental Congress,—“Fay, Chittenden, Allen and Jones,—returned from Congress, without the decision of that body on their Petition in behalf of the inhabitants, and brought with them Dr. Young's letter printed and published at Philadelphia, addressed to the inhabitants of VERMONT.”—Allen's *Vermont*, 79, 86, and *Vermont Historical Collections*, i., 375, 379.

The true history of the change of name is doubtless the following: When the Delegates arrived at Philadelphia, they learned that the name "New Connecticut" had already been appropriated for another territory, and saw the necessity of changing it. On consultation with Dr. Young, they approved of his recommendation of the name "Vermont," and agreed to favor its adoption. In their Petition to Congress, which was presented on the eighth of April, 1777, they did not therefore mention any name for their new State. Doctor Young's letter, with which they returned to Vermont, bore date the eleventh of April, 1777. All the Delegates were members of the following June Convention, and participated in making the change of the name of the State from "New Connecticut" to "Vermont," agreeably to their previous understanding with Doctor Young.

We have perhaps occupied more space in the consideration of this question than it deserved. It has nothing whatever to do with the old controversy between New York and Vermont, for, as regarded that, the name assumed by the new State was quite immaterial. We are unable to account for Mr. Dawson's hot indignation at the innocent suggestion of the Committee of Publication, in this matter, but upon the supposition—which, indeed, derives support from what he has long been attempting—that he considers himself engaged in a mission to discredit and condemn all Vermont history, whatever.

We trust sufficient evidence has been adduced to show that the suggestion that the first name of the new State was "New Connecticut," without an *alias*, was not rashly and inconsiderately made.

Mr. Dawson's 13th COMPLAINT, is as follows:

"13.—The latter part of the Report or Declaration of Vermont's Independence, is so perfectly muddled—there are not less than five serious errors, affecting the sense, within the last six lines—that no one except an expert in Vermont history, can possibly understand it accurately."

The language in the Society's volume is the same as in Slade's *State Papers*; and, as we are unable to discover the "five serious errors" spoken of, we pass over this Specification without further notice.*

The final crushing CHARGE OF RECONSTRUCTION, is as follows:

"14.—Messrs. John Sessions and Simeon Ste-

* There are four, if not five, inaccuracies, notwithstanding the Governor's ignorance, in the copy of the original draught of the Declaration which the Committee has published in this volume; and that ignorance does not improve the Committee's version any more than it promotes the Governor's candor or his good nature.—H. B. D.

"phens were the two Representatives from Cumberland-county, in the Convention of the State of New York, whom the insurgents in Vermont directed to withdraw from that body: Messrs. John Sessions and *Simon* Stephens are said, in this reconstructed record, to have thus officiated, as such Representatives, in the Legislature of New York, of which State Vermont was then a part."

We take issue with Mr. Dawson and say, that *Simeon* Stephens was *not* a member of the New York Convention, as asserted by him, but that *Simon* Stephens (or rather *Simon Stevens*, as the latter name was usually spelled,) *was*. And for proof we refer him to Volume I, page 515, of the Journal of the New York Convention, published at Albany, in 1842, where, in the Journal for July 9, 1776, he will find the following entries, viz.:

"The Deputies from Cumberland-county attending, produced a Certificate, signed by James Clay, Chairman of the County Committee, and dated at Westminster the 28th of June last; whereby it appears that Colo. Joseph Marsh, *Simon Stevens* and John Sessions have been duly elected to represent said County in this Congress, and invested with full powers of legislation, &c.

"Ordered, That the Deputies from Cumberland-county take their seats."

It appears also from B. H. Hall's *History of Eastern Vermont*, pages 258, 263, and 787, that *Simon* and not *Simeon Stevens* was the Delegate to the New York Convention, whom the Vermont Convention of January, 1777, "directed to withdraw from that body." B. H. Hall gave many particulars in the life of *Simon Stevens*, and among them his residence in Springfield. *Simon Stevens* represented Springfield in the Vermont State Convention of January, 1791, which adopted the Constitution of the United States. The Delegates signed the Resolution of adoption, and the original paper, *with the autograph of Simon Stevens*, is in the possession of one of the "Editors" of the Society's publication. So much for the overweening confidence of Mr. Dawson in *Simeon Stephens*, and in his own infallibility.*

We have now gone through with the examination of all the evidence brought forward by

Mr. Dawson to fasten upon the Vermont Historical Society the charge of undertaking to impose upon the public a false and fraudulent account of the early proceedings of the people of their State, in order, as he would have his readers believe, that their conduct towards the Government of New York, in their ancient controversy, might appear in a more favorable light than the facts as they really existed would warrant. We have seen that he has utterly failed to adduce a particle of proof to sustain the charge; that the most important of the changes alleged by him to have been made from what he calls "the original record," have no existence in point of fact, and that the residue are so trifling and insignificant as to preclude any supposition that they could have been made for any sinister purpose whatever, consisting of such changes as the substitution of one vowel for another in the spelling of the first or second name of some unknown person; by the use of one figure for another in a date of the month, or the omission or the insertion of an unimportant or synonymous word, which makes no alteration in the meaning—all of which changes any unprejudiced reader, if he noticed them, would at once have set down as accidental errors of the copyist or of the type—such errors indeed as an industrious critic might find in the most carefully prepared work—such as are, in fact, found in Mr. Dawson's own criticism quite as frequently as in the pages of the Society's publication which he condemns.*

The hostile temper of Mr. Dawson towards "the Vermontese," and his predetermination to find something to complain of against them, are as clearly exhibited in the language of his criticism, as its destitution of facts to sustain it is shown to have been. The standing programme of his Magazine, which is printed on its covers, states that it will contain, among other things, "Carefully prepared and impartial notices of New Books and Engravings, especially those relating to the History, Antiquities, or Biography, of America." If his present article on the volume of the *Vermont Historical Collections* is to be taken as a fair specimen of his "carefully prepared and impartial notices of new books," the aid to be expected from this department of his Magazine, in the elucidation of American history, cannot be very great.

After the full exposure which has been made of the fallacy of Mr. Dawson's criticism, it may be pleasant to read his concluding tirade against Vermont history and Vermont historian. It is as follows:

* Whether *Simon* or *Simeon* was Mr. Stephens's real name is immaterial to me. The *Minutes* of the Vermont Convention say that *Simon* was one of the Delegates, in the Convention of New York, from that portion of that State which is now Vermont; and when those *Minutes* were printed, by a Historical Society, under the editorial control of those who claim to be historical students, I had a right to expect that they should be printed with accuracy. Was the expectation an unreasonable one? Was it realized?—H. B. D.

* My readers can judge between Governor Hall and myself, as to the merits or demerits of the several parts of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE's criticism of the Society's volume of *Collections*. I have no anxiety concerning the result.—H. B. D.

"There are many other errors which we have not space enough to allude to; but we have said enough to show how entirely useless this portion of the volume is, as *an authority*, in historical enquiry. It may serve the purpose for which it was probably intended among those who read the history of Vermont from the Vermontese stand-point; but to those who read history for the purpose of ascertaining what the truth is concerning those, within the recognized territory of New York, who refused obedience to the laws and public officers of the State of which they openly professed to be citizens—of those in fact, who led all others in the grave offence of secession from a recognized Government, exercising legal and publicly-recognized authority over them—some other authority will be requisite. These, probably, will not be contented with either Vermont history or Vermont historians, as the former is now written, and as the latter now write."

This is not a proper occasion for discussing with Mr. Dawson the merits of the old controversy between Vermont and New York, which ended in the acknowledgement of the independence of the former by the latter. Mr. Dawson, as often as he has taken occasion to assail Vermonters and Vermont history, has never got beyond the argument that is implied in the above paragraph, that the Vermonters were criminally wrong, because they "refused obedience to the laws and public officers of the State of which they openly professed to be citizens." It does not seem ever to have occurred to him that there might be an important question beyond that, viz.: *Whether the actual and threatened oppressions of the New York Government were not such as to justify their disobedience?* He does not appear to see that this question arises, in the case of New York against Vermont, precisely as it did between Great Britain and her Colonies; and that Vermonters did not, as he states, take the lead of "all others in the grave offence of secession from a recognized Government, exercising legal and publicly-recognized authority over them," but only followed the example and lead of the American Colonies, in their secession from Great Britain,—the secession of the Colonies having taken place July 4, 1776, while that of Vermont did not occur until the following January. In this and such like condemnation of the Vermonters, he merely repeats the argument of the old English Tories against the Colonists, who, equally with the Vermonters, had refused obedience to the laws of a "recognized Government" to which they acknowledged themselves to be legally subjected. If Mr. Dawson should ever get beyond the point of calling the Vermon-

ters hard names, and should undertake to show that the conduct of the New York Government, in endeavoring to deprive the Vermont settlers of the lands they had honestly purchased and improved,* for the benefit of a set of New York city speculators, was right and just, and ought to have been submitted to, we shall be glad to see his evidence and read his argument. We are inclined to think he would find it rather an ugly business, and that he will not venture upon it.†

We are well aware that in any controversy with the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we Vermonters stand on greatly unequal terms. His article is extensively circulated through the country, while this refutation of it will be seen by comparatively few persons.‡ His hitherto unceasing hostility is not likely to be conciliated by this expose of the injustice and absurdity of his attacks, and we may expect a continuance of them, with perhaps increased violence. We shall probably be content to rest under any further imputations he may cast upon us, without reply. His seemingly uncontrollable propensity to impugn the motives and assail the integrity, as well as to misrepresent the conduct and argu-

* Governor Hall knows, very well, that the "Grants" from New Hampshire" never possessed any more validity, in law, than as many Grants from the man in the moon would have possessed: and those who "settled" on those Grants only resorted to New Hampshire, for such Grants, for the same reason that purchasers of smuggled and stolen goods accept the risk of being caught with them in their possession, knowing, all the time, that they are, personally, quite as bad as the smuggler or the thief from whom, for a title of their real value, they had ventured to receive them.

† If the "settlers" referred to had desired to act honestly, they would have gone to the legal owner of those lands and honestly paid an honest price for them, as decency and the laws required: they were willing, rather, to be dishonest; and they went, instead, to the Governor of New Hampshire, who had neither moral nor legal interest in those lands, and paid such a price for a Grant of them as none but a thief, or a smuggler, or a Vermontese border-ruffian, would have recognized as an equivalent therefor.—H. B. D.

‡ Reference is made to the letter, addressed to Governor Hall, which is appended to this *Vindication*. In that letter I have met the general issue which Governor Hall has presented, in all its parts; and on the proffered presentation of evidence, on either side, which that letter inaugurates, I am perfectly willing to either stand or fall. The Governor understands my meaning; let him now present his case, with his evidence.—H. B. D.

§ Very possible Governor Hall may now have learned, for the first time, that THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has no desire to confine its readers to *one side* of any subject; and that any reputable opponent of its views may, generally, present his adverse arguments to its readers, in its pages, as fully and as fearlessly as he shall desire.

I know of no falsehood which can be dangerous while the truth shall have an equal chance with it; and Governor Hall seems, also, to have acquired the same information and, consequently, he shrinks from the exposure, in the Magazine, of the fictions on which the early history of Vermont, as written by her own historians, has never ceased to rest. He dare not present, in that work, *over his own name*—although he has been urged to do so—*what concerning Vermont's early pretensions and the early Vermontese, he says, elsewhere, simply because he knows that, very certainly, his neighbor would come and search him.*—H. B. D.

ments, of those who fail to concur in his opinions and share his antipathies, must be well known to his readers, and we confidently trust they will be prepared to make due allowance for this unhappy weakness of his, and will estimate what he may say at just about its actual value.

MR. DAWSON'S LETTER.

HON. HILAND HALL,

DEAR SIR: I have pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of a pamphlet entitled *Vindication of Volume I. of the Collections of the Vermont Historical Society from the Attacks of the New York Historical Magazine*; and, as the post-mark indicates that I am indebted to you for it, I beg you to accept my hearty thanks for your attention.

You are not insensible of the fact that, during the past nine months, I have been an invalid, almost wholly incapacitated for labor, always in the hands of my physician, and absolutely required to abstain from all but the least laborious of my ordinary occupations; and, as I have suffered more severely, from intense pain, than ever before, during the present week, and, at this moment, write these words in pain which almost blinds me, I am not, therefore, in that trim, physically, which I desire to be in when I enter such a field of labor as, in this pamphlet, you have invited me to. If, however, I have correctly understood your *Vindication*, so called, either something or somebody—you seem to be uncertain which—has assaulted a certain volume which the Vermont Historical Society has recently published and, possibly, the Committee who prepared it for the press: that, in the absence of any care for its bantling by either the Committee or the Society, you have volunteered, individually, to become the Don Quixote of the hapless volume; and that, like your great prototype, after having satisfied your untempered prowess on divers minor objects, you have sought your crowning honors by leveling your lance at a luckless machine which, in all weathers and under all circumstances, is expected to catch the passing breeze and to turn out its editorial grists to its readers, as long as its various parts will keep together and the old concern remain in running order. I say that this is my understanding of the purport of your *Vindication*; and if I have mistaken that meaning, in any respect, I assure you that it has not been from the want of care in reading it.

Neither my health nor my disposition warrant any attempt, on my part, to engage in any unnecessary controversy; and, among the last of those with whom I should seek a discussion which might be construed as an unfriendly one, would be such an one as yourself, whom I have always regarded as one of the most valued of my personal friends. But you have been pleased

to mention me, *by name*, in your *Vindication*; to arraign me, *by name*, on charges which no respectable man can allow to remain without notice; and to represent me, and my temper, and my conduct, both as an individual and as the conductor of a public press, in such a manner as, were your picture a faithful one, would induce me to loath myself as earnestly as you seem to desire I shall be loathed by others. I propose, therefore, as best I may, in my physical weakness and pain, to notice, very briefly, the various parts of your *Vindication*, in the order in which I have already referred to them.

FIRSTLY: as to the assailant of the Society's Volume.

On the cover, on the title-page, and on page 3 of your pamphlet, you refer, specifically, to "the *New York Historical Magazine*" as the assailant of the Society's volume; and, on page 3, I am said to be the Editor of that audacious maligner of the Society's reputation. But I assure you that I know of no such work: that I had never heard of any such work, until your *Vindication* told me of it: that, as far as my knowledge and information go, I am not aware of the publication of any Historical Magazine, under any title, in New York, during the past five years. You will allow me to suppose, therefore, that you have made a mistake in your averment: that, as a narrator of very simple facts, not difficult to be authenticated, you cannot, always, be relied on: that your statements, as history, are, sometimes, loose and, as authorities, without value.

On page 3 of your pamphlet, after having declared, over and over again, that something else was the offender, you suddenly introduce me, *by name*, as the attacking party from whose assaults the Society's volume has suffered so much as to require your individual interference. But I assure you that I am not sensible that I have ever made any such "attack" as you refer to: and if you can produce a scrap of either manuscript or printed matter, bearing either my name or my initials, in which any such "attack" as you have described, or any other, has been made, I will as loudly plead guilty to your accusation as I now deny your charge. You will permit me to suppose, therefore, that you have made a second mistake in your averment: that, as a narrator of very simple facts, not difficult to be authenticated, you cannot always be relied on: that your statements, as history, are, sometimes, loosely made and, as authorities, without value.

I beg your permission, however, before proceeding further in this review of your pamphlet, to suggest that, very probably, you intended to have said, when you said something else, that THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, edited by me and published at Morrisania, N. Y., in its number for

January, 1871, noticed the first volume of *The Collections of the Vermont Historical Society*, in which notice that Society was earnestly congratulated on the solid success which had attended its first experiment, as the publisher of a volume; and the hope was expressed, in that notice, that the financial result of the venture would be such as to warrant a speedy renewal of the attempt which had been made by the Society, in the publication of that volume, to make itself useful. The notice also alluded to certain changes which the Committee had made in the selection of proffered material for the volume, and heartily sustained the Committee in its latest choice; and it closed by pronouncing the volume "as creditable to the book-making faculties of the Committee as it will be acceptable to every Vermonters who shall look into it." I say you probably intended to say this, or something of the same tenor; but, unfortunately, you failed to carry out your intention, and, instead, in this portion of your *Vindication*, of being a mere narrator of naked facts, you voluntarily became—something else.

As I have said, both my health and disposition, at this moment, prompt me to seek quiet, rather than excitement, and repose, rather than conflict; but it is not my nature, either in sickness or in health, to allow such a knight as you are, in such a cause as this, to ramble over the country, in search of a victim, without, at least, looking at him, from behind my own pickets, as he passes on the highway—I would not think of approaching a Rorey O' Moore, when the chip is on his shoulder and the black-thorn in his fist, but, the ex-President of a Historical Society, after having occupied the gubernatorial chair of his State, who voluntarily becomes the knight-errant of such a cause as this, is entitled to my attention, if not to my sympathy. I shall take you as you evidently meant to be understood, therefore; and let your mistakes be carried to the credit of your infirmities and your anger; and this brings this review,

SECONDLY: to the "attack," no matter by whom, and to your *Vindication* of it, no matter how ill-tempered or ill-judged.

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for January, 1871, said, of the volume referred to, only as follows:

"3.—*Collections of the Vermont Historical Society*. Prepared and Published by the "Printing and Publishing Committee, in pursuance of a vote of the Society. Vol. I. Montpelier: Printed for the Society. 1870. Octavo, pp. xix, 508.

"With the exception of a number of independent tracts, this volume is, we believe, the first extended publication by the Vermont Historical Society; and we earnestly congratulate

"that body on the solid success which has attended the experiment—may the financial result be as much of a success; and such as to warrant a speedy renewal of the attempt to make itself useful.

"After the preliminary papers, devoted to a record of the Society's Charter, By-laws, Membership, etc., the Minutes of those meetings of 'The Green-mountain Boys' which ultimately led to the formation of the State of Vermont, properly finds a place—a series of papers which, for historical importance to every Vermonter, has no existing equal.

"Unfortunately, however, in this case, the Society employed a copy instead of the original manuscripts; and, it has, consequently, fallen a victim, in several cases, to the incompetency of either its copyist or its proof-reader.

"Without noticing the multitude of changes which we have seen in the spelling and capitalization of the words, in the structure of the paragraphs, and in the general style of the work, a merely casual glance at the teachings of the re-constructed record has satisfied us that it is entirely unreliable, as material for history. As evidence of this, we need only refer to the following more important errors, in this very important portion of the volume.

"1.—The Warrent for the first meeting, dated, according to this version, 'ARLINGTON, 10th Dec'r, 1775,' was really dated 'ARLINGTON, 20th Dec'r, 1775;' and the third Article of the same Warrent, instead of providing 'To see if the Law of New York shall have free circulation where it doth infringe on our properties, or Titles of Lands, or Riots (so called) in defence of the same,' as indicated in this volume, really provided 'to see if the Law of New York shall have free Circulation where it doth not infringe' etc.—a distinction with a difference, which will be useful to those who shall study the temper of the Vermontese of that period, with due attention.

"2.—The 'Oliver Everts' who was one of the Assistant Clerks of the meeting, at Dorset, on the sixteenth of January, 1775, as indicated in this volume, was really 'Oliver Everts;' and the 'James Hurd,' who served on the Committee to whom the third Article in the Warrent, just noticed, was referred by that Convention, was really 'James Hurd.'

"3.—The Order in Council, relative to the Grants, referred to in the Remonstrance and Petition which was presented to the Continental Congress, in behalf of the insurgents, by Heman Allen, was really recorded—either accurately or otherwise—in the Minutes of the Convention at Dorset, of the twenty-fourth of July, 1776, as of the date of 'the fourth day of July, A.D., 1764:' the re-constructed

"*Minutes*, before us, presents it as 'on the 20th day of July, A. D. 1764.'

"4.—In the same Petition and Remonstrance, reference was made, as duly recorded by the Clerk of the Convention, on the Minutes of the Convention, reference was made to the aggregate body of 'Land Traders' whom the Vermontese were then resisting: in the re-constructed *Minutes*, by interpolating the words, 'of New York,' those who have controlled the volume before us have managed to secure a new weapon for their use, in their contest with the phantoms, from *New York*, which have so long haunted them.

"5.—The *official signatures* of the Chairman and Secretary of the Dorset Convention of the sixteenth of January, 1776, which this version of the *Minutes* presents, in the record of the same Petition and Remonstrance, at the foot of the nineteenth page of this volume, are not in the original *Minutes*, as left by the Secretary who wrote them; and, to those who are unacquainted with the facts, this strange error, of either the Editors or the Printer of this volume, will serve to destroy the usefulness of the entire entry, and to mislead those who are groping, in this dark subject, for the exact truth of the matter.

"6.—The interpolation of a line, assigning a motive for the sudden attempt of Heman Allen to withdraw the insurgents' Petition and Remonstrance from before the Continental Congress, was simply a piece of impertinence on the part of the Editors and is a fraud on those who shall read these re-constructed *Minutes*: there is no such reason assigned, in the real *Minutes*, as was written by the Secretary of the Convention.

"7.—In the Dorset Convention of the twenty-fifth of September, 1776, 'Mr. Abraham Ives' really represented 'N. Wallingford,' wherever that town may have been; not 'Wallingford,' as these re-constructed *Minutes* would have us suppose.

"8.—In the Westminster Convention of January 15, 1777, this version of the *Minutes* of that body would have us believe that 'Lt. Leonard Spaulding' and 'Lt. Dennis Lockland' jointly represented 'Dummerston,' and that the town of 'Putney' was not represented in that Convention, by any one: the fact is, that 'Dummerston' had only one Delegation—'Lieut. Leonard Spaulding'; that 'Putney' was represented in the Convention; and 'Lieut. Dennis Lockland' was her Delegation, instead of Dummerston's.

"9.—In the same Convention, 'Major Joseph Williams' appeared for Powal: not 'Major Josiah Williams,' as represented in this volume.

"10.—The re-constructed *Minutes* of the same

"Convention present a formal introduction of seven lines, to the Report on what is, in fact, Vermont's Declaration of Independence—certainly, as far as Vermont is concerned, an instrument of the first importance, as material for history—the original Minutes of the Convention itself, which constitute the original record of the paper, presented no such introductory matter, nor any other—our friends of the Committee to the contrary, notwithstanding.

"11.—In the same important instrument, as originally recorded, a most important extract from the Journals of the Continental Congress, certified by the Secretary of that Congress, was introduced, as the foundation of the Convention's proposed action on that subject: in the re-constructed Minutes, the record of that Resolution is changed in its terms, and the verification of the Secretary is altogether omitted—a curious and insignificant coincidence.

"12.—In the original record of the same important paper, as well, it seems, as in the copy of it which Mr. Slade published in his well-known *Vermont State Papers*, it is said 'that the District of Territory comprehending and Usually known by the name and description of the N. Hampshire Grants of Right ought to be and are hereby declared forever hereafter to be considered as a Seperate Free and Independent Jurisdiction or State by the Name & to be forever hereafter called and known and distinguished by the Name of New Connecticut Alias Vermont and that the Inhabitants' etc.: in the volume before us, it is said 'that the district of territory comprehending and usually known by the name and description of the New Hampshire Grants, of right ought to be, and is hereby declared forever hereafter to be considered as a separate, free and independent jurisdiction or state; by the name, and forever hereafter to be called, known and distinguished by the name of New Connecticut; [1] and the inhabitants' etc.—the blank space being illustrated with a foot-note, informing us that, 'here, in the copy in Slade's *State Papers*, the words 'alias Vermont' are inserted; but that 'they could not have been in the original declaration appears from the subsequent use of the name 'New Connecticut,' alone, and from the proceedings in the Convention of the fourth of June following, when the name was changed to 'Vermont.' The manuscript copy of the original with which General Phelps had favored the Society and the published copy of the same which Governor Slade had presented in his *State Papers*, were both before the Committee when it issued this re-constructed record; and we confess we are not acquainted with the principle which warrented

"the Committee, in the face of the two distinct 'copies of the original, to not only omit from its version of the *Minutes* the words 'Alias Vermont,' but to discredit the fidelity of the only text which it employed, by doubting the existence of the words, elsewhere. Such is Vermont history, as written by Vermont historians.

"13.—The latter part of the Report, or Declaration of Vermont's Independence, is so perfectly muddled—there are not less than five serious errors, affecting the sense, within the last six lines—that no one, except an expert in Vermontese history, can possibly understand it, accurately.

"14.—'Messrs. John Sessions and Simeon Stephens' were the two Representatives from Cumberland-county, in the Convention of the State of New York, whom the insurgents, in Vermont, directed to withdraw from that body: 'Messrs. John Sessions and Simon Stephens' are said, in this reconstructed record, to have thus officiated as such Representatives, in the Legislature of New York, of which State Vermont was then a part.

"There are many other errors which we have not space enough to allude to; but we have said enough to show how entirely useless this portion of the volume is, as an authority in historical enquiry. It may serve the purpose for which it was probably intended, among those who read the history of Vermont from the Vermontese stand-point; but to those who read history for the purpose of ascertaining what the truth is concerning those, within the recognized territory of New York, who refused obedience to the laws and public officers of the State of which they openly professed to be citizens—of those, in fact, who led all others in the grave offence of secession from a recognized Government, exercising legal and publicly-recognized authority over them—some other authority will be requisite. These, probably, will not be contented with either Vermont history or Vermont historians, as the former is now written and as the latter now write.

"Following these *Minutes* are re-prints of several ancient tracts concerning the land-disputes; an extended series of papers, illustrative of the history of the Northern Campaign of 1777; and a re-print of Ira Allen's *History of Vermont*—we have not the means to compare the copies of the former with the originals nor with complete copies of them: the latter is not so scarce that any one of even ordinary means cannot employ the original instead of this copy; and a comparison of the two will, therefore, be wholly unnecessary—and a meagre Index closes the volume.

"We are not insensible of some of the differ-

ences of opinion which are said to have led to the re-production of some of the old tracts and Allen's *History*; and we are free to say that we approve the selection of materials, as it stands, rather than that which was originally proposed. The general good judgment of the Committee of Publication, in the choice, *per se*, of offered material, is amply apparent—we wish we could say as much for its accuracy of details, in using what it selected—and the very handsome volume which it has produced, is as creditable to its book-making faculties as it will be acceptable to every Vermonter who shall look into it."

It will be seen, by the sober reader, that THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE disapproved of the contents of only a small portion of the Society's volume—the first of the dozen articles which it contained—and that that disapproval was exclusively confined to the *inaccuracy of that particular article, as a copy of an unpublished paper*, which, "for historical importance to every Vermonter, has no existing equal," and deserved a better fate. It will be seen, also, that it was a matter of regret that, "in this case, the Society employed a copy instead of the *original manuscripts*"—the reason could have been assigned, why that copy was used, but was not—and, certainly, in no unfriendly spirit, it said that the Society, in consequence of its mistaken selection, "has fallen a victim, in several cases, to the incompetency of its copyist or its proof-reader."

It needs no argument to prove that, as the saying has it, "what is worth being done *at all*, by any one, is worth being done *well*;" and it is especially true that what is presented as materials for history, by a Historical Society, in a volume conducted through the press under its own authority, by its master minds, and bearing its own imprint, is expected to be *accurate* as well as *authentic*; and that it is *necessarily* without value, as materials for history or as a standard by which written history shall be tested, if its accuracy or its authenticity shall be successfully impeached. THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE averred, *as was its duty*, that the particular article to which it objected had not been accurately presented by the Society, in the volume referred to; and it also said of it, because of that inaccuracy, "that it is entirely unreliable, as material for history"—that it is "entirely useless," "as an authority, in historical enquiry." This is the gravamen of the offence against which you complain; and against this judgment of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE you direct the weight of your extended and angry *Vindication*. You gravely admit that both the Society and you have never yet seen the *original manuscript* of which that Society professes to have given a mere copy, in the article

which, "as an *authority* in historical enquiry," THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has condemned as inaccurate and untrustworthy; yet, ludicrously enough, you gravely defend that *copy*, with all its alleged and conceded inaccuracies, and insist that it is really worthy the respect, as such authority, which was originally claimed for it, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE to the contrary notwithstanding. You gravely admit, also, that THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has seen the *original manuscript*, and you actually pretend to describe it; yet the errors, in the Society's copy, which THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, after comparing that copy with the original, has carefully pointed out and described, are, ludicrously enough, treated, in your *Vindication*, with the highest respect, while the Editor of the Magazine is individually reproached, because they were thus carefully examined and condemned in the pages of that periodical.

If I ever lacked evidence of your entire incapacity either to narrate a fact or to write a history, accurately, I do so no longer; and, in your evident willingness to prefer, as "*an authority*," "in historical research," what you know and acknowledge to be an *inaccurate copy* of a document, rather than the original paper itself, when that original shall make against some pre-conceived notion of your own which that inaccurate copy can pander to and sustain, you voluntarily afford evidence, which no one can gainsay, of your own entire unfitness to judge of the merits of any historical question whatever. It matters not who your father was, nor what distinctions you may have personally secured, nor where you live—your studied attempt to bolster up what you know to be the shattered reputation of what the Society unwisely offered "as an *authority*," in "historical research," and to put "the guinea-stamp" on what is conceded, even by yourself, to be base metal, will be duly understood and receive its just condemnation from every one, every where, who knows the difference, in value, between a truth and a falsehood, and who cares to pick up a stone to cast at you.

The copy of the paper, under notice, which the Society published in its first Volume, is certainly inaccurate—you admit it to be so, in your *Vindication*—and it is, therefore, untrustworthy, "as an *authority*," in historical research," notwithstanding all you shall present in vindication of it: the strictures of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE are well founded and servicable, "*as authorities*," in historical research; and what you have said, in your unwise remarks condemnatory of them, serves to expose the nothingness of your own pretensions rather than the weakness of the Magazine.

THIRDLY: as to your picture of what you conceive to be my "hostile temper towards 'the

"Vermontese," and my predetermination concerning them."

This is not the first time that I have heard of what has been industriously circulated as a report of my hostility to Vermont; and I notice the silly nonsense of the accusation, now, only because it affords another item of the sickly childishness of its last publisher. Vermont is neither more nor less to me than any other portion of God's foot-stool; nor do I, individually, care a whit more nor a whit less for "the Vermontese" than I do for the great body of my own townsmen, unto whom I am, personally, a stranger and who, personally, are strangers to me. Those of them who are honest and act like honest men, I most heartily respect, in Vermont and in Morrisania: those of them, whether here or there, who act like rogues and who roll a falsehood around, as a sweet morsel, under their tongues, whenever they can find a poor excuse for preferring it to the truth, at the same price, I have always condemned; and, while strength shall be spared to me, I expect to condemn all such, here and there, until my latest breath. Evidence which even you cannot gainsay—although you will, probably, attempt to belittle it—tells me that the great body of the early settlers of what is now Vermont, were nothing more nor less than lawless ruffians; and I make no new revelation when I repeat what that evidence has taught me. I have learned, from undoubted testimony, too, that *money was required* by those "Green-mountain boys," before they would interfere with Ticonderoga, notwithstanding what you claim to consider as their "country" imperatively demanded their prompt and energetic action, without it; and I have learned, also, that, thenceforth, until they established the legal independence of the State, the same peculiar "patriotism" which began and ended in themselves was the controlling power among them. They drove industrious settlers from their homesteads, seized their property, abused their persons, and, sometimes, did worse than all this, just as "the border-ruffians" are said to have done, in these latter days, in Kansas and the Far West; and they seized sixteen towns, East of the Connecticut-river, in New Hampshire, and I do not know how many, West of that river, in New York, and, year after year, ruled those who lived in those towns, not only without law but in open and impudent defiance of it. The authority of the King and that of the State—New Hampshire's quite as much as New York's—they resolutely disregarded; and when the Continental Congress, on their own application, gave judgment against them, they sought, in Canada, from the Royal Governor, that peculiar consolation and protection which, at that moment, their countrymen, under Washington and his subordinates, were manfully re-

sisting, in the field. All this, and more, you know to be strictly true; and you know, also, that when I offered to print your own statements of all these matters, those which might be true as well as those which should be untrue, to any reasonable extent, and entirely without any expense to you, you shrunk from the exposure of Vermont's early wickedness and from that of your own misrepresentations of that wickedness, which, you very well knew, was in store for you, and so preferred to let the early history of Vermont remain undiscussed and concealed from the world. *If you shall have reconsidered that conclusion, and are now disposed to present what you conceive to be the facts, with the evidences to sustain your averments, the pages of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE are open, for your use, for that purpose, at any time, to any reasonable extent; and I promise you, in such case, an unrestricted hearing, as to language, and limited only by confining you, in your publication of documents, in extenso, as evidence, to those which, hitherto, have remained unpublished. In such case, if my strength shall permit, I shall probably follow you, in order to ascertain and to report to the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, how much of truth and how much of untruth there shall be in your narrative; and I shall do so, in such case, fearlessly and without flinching.* I never saw anything, in history, which I was ashamed to look at, squarely, in the face; and I have never hesitated, in any of my researches, to follow the Truth, and to recognize her, wherever she has been pleased to conduct me. I am not now afraid to meet and to greet the Truth, in the examination and discussion of any portion of Vermont's early history nor in that of the doings of any of her lawless adherents: AND I RESPECTFULLY CHALLENGE YOU TO A CAREFUL AND HONEST DISCUSSION, ON EVIDENCE TO BE ADDUCED, OF THE SUBJECTS REFERRED TO—so dear to you and, if you speak truly, so loathsome to me—WHENEVER YOU SHALL BE INCLINED TO TAKE THE FIELD, ON THE TERMS WHICH I HAVE JUST MENTIONED.

You insist that the Colonial Governor of New Hampshire possessed legal authority to dispose of lands lying to the westward of Connecticut-river, within the territory of what is now the State of Vermont; that the various Grants by which, from time to time, he pretended to dispose of lands within that territory, were issued with competent authority, in due form, and fully vested the Grantees with legal titles to the lands so assumed to have been disposed of; and that those who were thus favored by him, as Grantees, became, in law and in fact, the owners of the several tracts of land which he thus pretended to convey to them.

You insist that the Colonial authorities in New

York possessed no authority, in law, to dispose of lands lying to the westward of Connecticut-river, within the territory of what is now the State of Vermont, or to require obedience to their authority or to the Laws of that Colony, from those who resided or sojourned therein; that any attempt, on the part of those authorities, either to dispose of those lands, or to enforce obedience from those who resided or sojourned therein, or to oust those, as trespassers, who occupied those lands without having obtained Grants from them, was oppression and tyranny, if not usurpation and legally invalid; and that all such attempts, whether to dispose of such lands, or to oust trespassers therefrom, or to enforce obedience to their authority and to the public laws of the Colony, within the territory referred to, might have been and was resisted, by those who occupied that territory, properly and without offence against any law to which they were properly amenable.

You insist that the inhabitants and sojourners of what is now the territory of the State of Vermont, from 1765 until the recognition of the independence of Vermont, by New York, and the admission of that State into the Union, were law-abiding in their character and conduct; undoubted and unceasing friends of the cause for which Washington fought; and quite as undoubted and unceasing opponents of the King of Great Britain and his Parliament; and you insist that there was nothing in either the character or the conduct of those inhabitants and sojourners, nor in the character and conduct of those who, either with or without their authority, represented them before the world and were their mouth-pieces and spokesmen, which honest men, honestly and impartially judging, would either condemn or censure—indeed, you insist that those who cannot agree with you, in this opinion, are, themselves, by reason of that disagreement, unworthy of credit, as writers of history, and unworthy of the personal respect of their neighbors, as men.

All these, and others, most venerable and most earnest vindicator, you have insisted on, in writing and in print—orally, also, whenever you could command an audience—and the time has come, before you shall have been called before your final Judge to receive His judgment on your case and Vermont's, as you have too often presented them, to insist, on my part, that something beside your unsupported word shall be presented to the world, which you will soon otherwise leave in ignorance on those subjects, to sustain the several naked allegations which I have specified. I have asked, before, privately, for the authorities on which you have depended when you have made them; but they have not been sent to me: I have invited you,

by letter, to present your case and your evidence, in writing, to any reasonable extent, in order that I might print and traverse them; but you have shrunk from the proffered publication and the exposure which, you know, would have followed it: I insist, now, that you shall either support the allegations which, in various forms and at various times, sometimes agreeably and sometimes disagreeably, you have so loudly proclaimed, with the evidence on which you have founded them, or that you shall sink, at once, to that merited contempt, among honest men, the world over, which belongs, most surely, to the empty braggart and to him who willingly bears false witness against his neighbor. I insist on this, as a duty which you owe to Vermont; I insist on it, as a duty which you owe to those who have hitherto honored you as

an honest and earnest worker [in the field of American History; I demand it, as a duty which you owe to me, since you have published to the world, concerning myself and my writings, what, in the continued absence of that hidden light which you so earnestly insist on hiding under your own bushel, I shall, otherwise, be constrained to brand as both a willing and a wicked falsehood.

I am not aware that I have overlooked any material portion of your *Vindication*, either in my foot-notes to my re-print of that *Vindication* or in this, my general notice of it; and nothing remains for me, therefore, but to assure you that I am,

Very Respectfully, Yours,
HENRY B. DAWSON.

Vermont

Cr.

From Rev. PLINY H. WHITE, D.D., *President of the Vermont Historical Society.*

The undersigned having been a reader of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE from its beginning until now, takes pleasure in attesting to its great value as a repository of American History and Biography, in which is contained much that cannot be found elsewhere, as well as much that can only elsewhere be found in sources quite inaccessible to the great majority of the students of History.

PLINY H. WHITE.

COVENTRY, VT., 12th August, 1867.

From Hon. HILAND HALL, *late President of the Vermont Historical Society, and formerly Governor of the State.*

I have been a subscriber to the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for nine years past, and concur in the above statement of the Rev. Pliny H. White.

HILAND HALL.

NORTH BENNINGTON, VT.,
August 22, 1867.

From Hon. GEORGE F. HOUGHTON, *one of the founders and President of the Vermont Historical Society.*

ST. ALBANS, VT., May 6th, 1869.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq.:

In answer to your note of a recent date, I beg to say that I have been familiar with THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE from its start and can commend it to the favorable consideration of the members of the Vermont Historical Society and others engaged in historical pursuits. Your researches are comprehensive and indicate unusual industry and acumen. While some of your criticisms upon New England and New England institutions have been severe, they have added life and attracted attention to your magazine. You must be aware, however, that in some instances they have given offense.

As your monthly is the only one of the kind in this country, I hope it will meet with a generous patronage.

Yours, Truly,

GEORGE F. HOUGHTON.

From Rev. ISAAC JENNINGS, *Pastor of the Congregational Church at Bennington, and author of the early history of the Town, entitled Memorials of a Century.*

BENNINGTON CENTRE, VT., May 3, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR:

I highly esteem THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, as a medium for the distribution of rare, original, and antiquarian material pertaining to our general and local history, and for the discussion of current historical beliefs.

The succeeding numbers are replete with interest. If any judge antiquarian labors to be necessarily dry, let them consult these pages and they will find out their mistake.

With regard to the peculiar way in which our learned Editor pays his respects to New England, I may suggest

that we Yankees *have an opinion* that New England is even yet able to stand a very considerable amount of adverse criticism.

No one, however, can fail to admire the acumen and vigor of your pen and the unstinted liberality of time, expense, and exertion with which you prosecute research and make up your valuable publications.

Very Truly, Yours,
ISAAC JENNINGS.

From Hon. HENRY CLARK, *Corresponding Secretary of the Vermont Historical Society, Secretary of the Senate, etc.*

RUTLAND, VT., May 3, 1869.

DEAR SIR:

Allow me to thank you for the labors you are performing for American History in the publication of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. Its value is untold, and a future generation will seek for its pages as for hidden treasures, to elaborate and perfect the connecting links of our history. While the general outline of American History is read, yet every intelligent reader is conscious that there are missing links he cannot account for, and yet feels confident there must have been some written or traditional evidence, that would have made it plain. THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, from month to month, is rapidly supplying these broken links in the chain of history which no reader should fail to have in his possession. Therefore every professional man should read its pages to illustrate his profession; every legislator and statesman should possess its volumes to learn the spirit of the times and of the men who founded the institutions under which we live and for which they legislate; in fact, every reader, whether in the farm-house or in the mechanic shop, should subscribe to it, for its value to them will be fully appreciated by its constant perusal. No Public Library can afford to be without it; and if they are, they cannot supply the demand of the times, for correct and useful knowledge.

We cheerfully and earnestly commend THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE to every citizen of Vermont and to every Vermonter who has made his home elsewhere, for Vermont has a rich and fertile history which is being constantly illustrated and made perfect through the pages of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. A thousand copies at the lowest estimate should find constant readers among the people of the Green Mountain State.

HENRY CLARK,
Corresponding Secretary of Vt. Hist. Society.

From MISS HEMENWAY, *the historian of Vermont.*

BURLINGTON, VT., 22 Jan. 1870.

I have always regarded THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE the most valuable and readable publication of its class in the country; and am so happy as to possess most of its numbers.

MISS HEMENWAY,
Ed. Vt. Hist. Gaz.

THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,
AND
NOTES AND QUERIES
CONCERNING THE
ANTIQUITIES, HISTORY, AND BIOGRAPHY OF AMERICA.

EDITED BY HENRY B. DAWSON.

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THE
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AUGUST, 1871.

[No. 2.

I.—NOTICES OF MEN AND EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE EARLY HISTORY OF ONEIDA-COUNTY, NEW YORK.

*TWO LECTURES, DELIVERED BEFORE THE YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION OF THE CITY OF UTICA.**

BY WILLIAM TRACY, LL.D.

[The following contribution to the history of Oneida-county was read by the author, as two lectures, before The Young Men's Association of the city of Utica, of which he was a member, in the Winter of 1837-8. It was then published, at the request of the Association.

The Association was formed a year or two previous to that date, for the purpose of promoting literary and social improvement. Most of the young men, comprising every class in the city, were members. It had a valuable library and a reading-room furnished with the leading newspapers and periodical publications of the day. During the Winter-season, courses of free Lectures were delivered before its members. This was before public lecturing, as a business, had become common. A large proportion of the Lectures was read by members of the Association, without compensation to the lecturer or a charge to the hearer. Among the lecturers are remembered the late Hon. Hiram Denio, Judge of the Court of Appeals; the Hon. William J. Bacon, late Justice of the Supreme Court; the Hon. Ward Hunt, just now appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States; James Watson Williams, Esq.; the late Rev. Dr. Mandeville; Doctors Charles B. Coventry and John McCall; and Charles P. Kirkland and Charles Tracy, Esquires, now of New York, but then residents in Utica. In addition to these gentlemen, the late Rt. Rev. Bishop Alonzo Potter, then Vice-president of Union College, and the late Doctor John H. Lathrop, then a Professor in Hamilton College and, subsequently, Chancellor of the Universities of Missouri and Wisconsin, were among the number of volunteer lecturers.

The Association was maintained for several years, when it gave way to other institutions, in Utica, which occupied substantially the same ground. The survivors of "the young men" who constructed it, remember, with pleasure, its useful reunions and its pleasant appointments; but the lapse of over thirty years, since then, has frosted the locks of most of them, and taken from them the appellation of "young men" in which they then rejoiced.—THE AUTHOR.]

I

About seventy-three years since, a youth, who had just completed his academical career, and had been inducted into the sacred office of a Christian teacher, met, at a social interview, in a small town in New Jersey, a middle-aged Minis-

ter of the Gospel and a venerable saint, whose name will live when ages shall have rolled away and be revered while piety exists on earth. The youth, full of zeal in the service he had espoused, was seeking a theatre wherein to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation by the Cross and the fullness and freeness of divine Grace. He had sought the advice of these friends, to direct him where to go to do the will of his Master and best obey the parting injunction of his Lord. The middle-aged Minister told him that, in early life, as the Chaplain of a Regiment of the Colonial troops, who, in the War between France and the British American Colonies, had been ordered to the wilderness which lay westward from the German settlements on the Mohawk, to the great lakes, he had traversed the country of the warlike but noble nations of the Iroquois. For a time, he had sojourned in the neighborhood of the Oneidas, and had tasted of their hospitality and become acquainted with their habits and manner of life. He portrayed them as the noblest of the sons of the forest. Fierce and untiring in warfare, but generous, hospitable, grateful, and benevolent in their domestic life. As the worshippers of the one Great Spirit of all good, but ignorant of the attributes which He has revealed to the favored sons of civilization, they, like the men of Athens, worshipped an unknown God. He spoke of the country they inhabited, beautiful even in its native wilderness state, and abounding in all that was necessary to render its possessors the most favored sons of earth. And he painted

OF ONEIDA COUNTY. | TWO LECTURES, DELIVERED BEFORE THE YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION | OF THE CITY OF UTICA, | BY WILLIAM TRACY. | PUBLISHED AT THE REQUEST OF THE ASSOCIATION. | UTICA: | R. NORTHWAY, JR., PRINTER, 116 GENESEE STREET. | 1838.

Copies of this pamphlet having become very scarce, at the same time that the information it contains has not become obsolete, we determined to re-print it, in this work, with such corrections or illustrative Notes as time and subsequent inquiry on the subjects treated of have demanded; and, at our request, the following copy of it has been carefully prepared for the press, by the author, and, through the Magazine, contributed to the historical literature of the State and the United States. It is hoped that, in their amended form, these Lectures will not be unacceptable to those who care anything for the Past of our country.—EDITOR.

* These lectures were requested for publication by the Association, and were printed in a neat pamphlet of forty-five pages, with the following title: NOTICES | OF | MEN AND EVENTS | CONNECTED WITH THE | EARLY HISTORY

from fancy and with a poet's pencil, the scene it might exhibit, when these sons of the forest had become enlightened with the true light which shineth from above, and when the arts, and comforts, and elegancies of civilization, with the holy hopes of Christianity, had become their portion; when their country had sprung from the blooming wilderness to the picturesque, and cultivated, and ornamented field, and grove, and garden; its homely wigwam and its rude cabin to the stately mansion and magnificent hall; when seminaries of learning, and halls of science, and temples of the Most High, occupied the places where the stillness of the forest only echoed to the yells of wild beasts or the rude gaiety or the piercing war-cry of its savage lords. And when he had dwelt a moment on the picture, he pointed out the happiness of him who should go, the messenger and apostle of Christianity to their land, and aid in accomplishing such a glorious change.

The soul of the youth felt, with all its force, the eloquence of his friend, and warmed with a new impulse, as he figured to himself the scene thus laid before him. And when the venerated Whitfield, for he was the aged servant of the Cross I have before-mentioned, urged him to go forth to that field of his Lord, and manfully to lay his sickle to that harvest, he gave himself, with the determination of a Christian martyr, to the proclaiming, to the wild men of that region, the glorious hopes and promises of the Gospel. And the history of a long life, chequered with many a vicissitude, furnishes ample proof that this youthful vow became the load-star of his maturer years. He went forth with the blessing of his aged friend and the warm wishes of him who had pointed out his path—and who, I would here remark, was the Rev. Mr. Kirkpatrick, father of the late Doctor Kirkpatrick of Salina—and sought the beautiful land we now inhabit, then untenanted, save by its native lords, to become their friend, their instructor, and their guide to happiness—to Heaven! *

This was Samuel Kirkland, the early, the devoted, the beloved friend of the Oneidas. And, in attempting to amuse you for an hour, with brief notices of men and events connected with the early history of Oneida-county, I feel that it is but justice that his name should occupy my

foremost page. A native of an obscure parish in Connecticut, to whose inhabitants his father had broken the bread of life, as a Christian Pastor, he had early devoted himself to the Christian ministry, and had received the advantages of a classical education at the College at Princeton, N. J. Possessed of native talents which would have enabled him to occupy a distinguished place among the clergymen of the age, and all the adventitious aids which the means of education in this country then afforded, no ambitious views or sordid hopes of gain could have influenced him, in turning his back upon the abodes of civilization, relinquishing all the pleasure of society, and making the wilderness his home, the wild man his companion, and the object of his care. Nor was there, at the time he thus resolved to devote himself to the happiness of the native inhabitants of our land, the cordials which now sustain the drooping spirits of the Missionary in heathen lands, furnished by the sympathy of friends at home and the excitement of constant communication with them, by means of published and wide-spread reports and a teeming press. Then, the Missionary, as he entered the forest, felt that a deep night separated him from all the conversation and the very thoughts of his former friends; and he could only look to the performance of his duties and the smiles of his heavenly Master, to sustain his spirit in the trials he must endure.

The period at which the Rev. Mr. Kirkland commenced his mission to the Oneidas was the year 1766. Previous to this time, no Christian teacher had undertaken to learn their language and establish himself among them. They were, as I have observed, the worshippers of the Great Spirit—the creator of all things; but were destitute of any rational or, indeed, fixed notions relative to his attributes. He commenced his labors among them, and immediately undertook the task of teaching them—living among them and endearing himself to them by his attention and his amiable and sympathizing spirit. Many of them gave a listening ear to his instructions; and the heart of the good man was often gladdened with the encouragement which met his endeavors, as if to cheer him on his course.

The approach of the troubles of the Revolution, after a residence of eight or nine years

* In a valuable memoir of the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, prepared by his grandson, Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop, D.D., Pastor of Brattle-street church, Boston, for the fourteenth volume of Sparks's *American Biography*, reference is made to the foregoing statement. Doctor Lothrop shows that the date of this interview is mistaken; that Mr. Kirkland's determination to become a Missionary to the Indians was formed prior to or during his college course; and that, before his ordination, he visited the Seneca tribe and spent some time with them, learning their language. I am inclined, nevertheless, to believe his views were directed to the work in which he ultimately devoted his

life, at the interview with Whitfield and Mr. Kirkpatrick, of which the relation is given; but that it occurred at an earlier period than I supposed, when the Lecture was read. The story was told me in 1828, by the late Doctor William Kirkpatrick of Salina, who received it, directly, from Mr. Kirkland. The Doctor was, for many years, very intimate in the family of Mr. Kirkland. He was a man of high cultivation and intelligence. His father had died before his recollection; and the anecdote, as told him by Mr. Kirkland, made a deep impression upon his memory, as one of the few that he had ever heard of him. —THE AUTHOR.

among them, rendered it necessary for him to intermit a portion of his strictly ministerial labors. The Six Nations, during the whole colonial history of our country, had cultivated a firm and warm friendship with the English Government, and espoused their cause in the difficulties which had taken place between them and the French Colonies in Canada. At the commencement of the hostilities between the Colonists and the Royal authorities, several of the tribes constituting them adhered to their former friends, while a portion became the friends and allies of the Colonists. Of the former, was the whole of the Mohawks, who, after the final triumph of the native Americans, removed with their English allies to Canada, where they now reside. Among the Oneidas, a large portion of the nation attached themselves to the Revolutionary party; and, though maintaining a neutral position, remained, during the whole contest for our liberties, the firm and consistent friends of the Americans. There were, however, among the Oneidas, many who doubted the propriety of making cause with the Colonists, and preferred a league with the Royal party. Under these circumstances, prudence and duty dictated to the present subject of our notice, the necessity of removing his family from a position likely to become the theatre of intestine war; and he accordingly established it, for a season, at Stockbridge, Mass., but still, in the spirit of his vow, continued his labor as an Indian Missionary among the Oneidas, and, by his influence with them, contributed very much to the maintenance of a firm friendship between a great majority of the nation and the Americans. During a portion of the War, in addition to his missionary labors, he officiated as Chaplain to the American forces in the vicinity; and, among other services, accompanied the expedition of General Sullivan through the Western part of New York, in the year 1779, in this capacity. After the Peace, the Government of this State, in consideration of his valuable services, during the Revolution, granted to him the lands lying in the town of Kirkland, known as Kirkland's Patent, upon a portion of which Hamilton College stands. To these lands he removed his family, in the year 1792, and continued upon them, during the remainder of his life, occupying the homestead, near the village of Clinton, which still remains the home of his widow.

At this period in the history of the Oneidas, the nation had scarcely been touched with the contaminating influence which the approach of white settlements has everywhere shed upon the aboriginal inhabitants of our country. As yet, the soil of a greater part of our County belonged to it; and the Indian lad, as he pursued the deer

over his native hills, could, with full truth, declare,

"This is my own,"—

as well as

"my native land."

Her race of warriors and orators was not yet extinct; and much as has been said of the eloquence of the Indian, I have nowhere met with more touching and purely eloquent specimens of Indian oratory than those which tradition has preserved us, pronounced by the orators and Chiefs of the Oneidas. Most of you will recognise the following introductory passage from one of Sconodoo's addresses to his tribe, at a Treaty for the sale of their lands:

"I am an aged hemlock—the winds of an "hundred Winters have whistled around me, "and withered my branches. I am dead at the "top: the generation to which I belonged has "run away and left me."

Few more striking or poetical figures are to be found in any language. Several of his speeches, made at Treaties for the purchase of Indian lands, are preserved; some of which were after he became blind. He was anxious that his people should retain a considerable portion of its territory. We can see the aged Chief rising to address his countrymen—the form, once erect, and full of health, and strength, and vigor, now bowed down and tottering with the effects of his "hundred Winters," and his sightless balls vainly turned towards the sons and grandsons of those with whom his youth and his manhood had been spent. He rises to caution them not to part with the home of their fathers, the happy play-grounds of generations of their countrymen, and the graves of those who gave them birth; and with trembling voice he utters the words I have just repeated. And, as the orator proceeded and enchaind the eyes and the feelings of his whole nation, who could have witnessed the scene, and not curse the hand that should separate from their beloved land, a people so susceptible to the noblest art of all time?

Another of the Chiefs of the Oneidas, at the period of which I am now speaking, who is said to have been the equal of Sconodoo, in eloquence, was a much younger man, who commonly bore the German sobriquet of "Plattkopf." It is said that his influence in the nation was not so great as that of Sconodoo, though he was frequently more forcible in his public addresses. A gentleman who was present at a Council, held some years after the Revolutionary War, by Commissioners, on the part of the State, to treat for the purchase of a portion of the lands then reserved by the Oneidas, gives an account of a very effective address of this man. The Council

was held at Oneida, beneath a large pine-tree which some of my audience may remember, as once standing on the South side of the turnpike, at a short distance beyond the present village, and which tree was, some years afterwards, struck by lightning. For two days, the warriors of the nation had assembled to consult as to the sale; and, as was customary among the Six Nations, the final decision was left to the squaws, who being the cultivators are, by a very equitable rule of Indian law, regarded as the proprietors of the soil. The whole nation, male and female, had now assembled, and the question which was to determine whether it should retain its lands or still further circumscribe its already diminished inheritance was to be settled. Plattepoff arose and addressed the multitude. He spoke of the glory of the nation, previous to the coming of the white man. He said that the Oneidas were then full of strength, and vigor, and beauty. He pointed to the tree under which they stood, and which, although still magnificent for its size and beauty, was visibly marked with age and decay. "We were like this tree," said he. "It was then young, and vigorous, and beautiful. It drew its nourishment from the ground, the soil; and it was not cramped and confined. It could draw nourishment from the whole soil, for the Oneidas owned it all—they had parted with none of their possessions. And, as the tree could draw sustenance from the whole soil, it grew and put forth more branches, and more leaves, and sent out new roots, and implanted them deeper in the ground. It became strong and very beautiful: so did the Oneidas. As the tree grew, the white man came; and we sold him a portion of our lands. A root of the tree, which depended for its nourishment upon this land, withered, for it had no soil; and, as it withered, a branch died, and the tree lost some of its beauty. Again the white man came, and we sold him another piece of our land; another root withered, and another branch died, and the tree became less beautiful and less vigorous. The white man came a third time, and we sold him another piece of land—another and another root withered, and another and another branch fell down; and we now see the tree—though beautiful, it has lost its branches, and it no longer sends forth new roots and puts forth new branches, for it is cramped—it has not land as it once had.

"The white man has come again: shall we sell another piece of land? Shall we let the tree under which our fathers sat lose another and another root and cause another and another branch to fall?"

The orator enlarged upon the figure and extended his illustration, frequently drawing a parallel between it and the nation, until every

mind present was fully prepared to reject the overture for a Treaty; and, for the time being, the nation preserved its ancient inheritance. Well would it have been for the nation, if a similar result had awaited every subsequent attempt to purchase their birthright.

The labors of Mr. Kirkland among this people, were, in many instances, attended with the desired result; and a large portion of the nation ultimately professed a speculative belief in the doctrines of Christianity, and many of them bore witness, by well-ordered lives, to the sincerity of their profession of that belief which is of the heart. Among the latter number, was the venerable Seonondoa, who, for many years after the death of his spiritual father, waited with a Christian composure, and even with a wish to depart, for the summons which should call him to meet him in the presence of their common Lord and Master. The strength of the attachment of this aged Chief to his friend and guide to the pure faith of the Gospel, may be inferred from his dying injunction, that his remains should be laid beside those of his Christian father, that in the resurrection-morn they might together waken at the sound of the archangel's trumpet, to meet their Savior coming to judgment. The request was regarded; and the Missionary and his disciple sleep together, in the narrow house.

Shortly after the Peace, the attention of individuals in Connecticut and Massachusetts was called to this vicinity, as a promising field for emigration. In the Summer of the year 1784, Judge White, the first New England settler, with his sons, arrived at Whitestown, from Middletown, Connecticut, and erected a dwelling-house. The next year, he was joined by a number of settlers; and the name of Whitestown, very soon, became known throughout New England, to designate the whole region lying near the central portion of the State. In the year 1786, the village of Clinton was settled by a Colony of twenty families; and the tide of emigration increased, from year to year, occupying neighborhoods in almost all parts of the present County of Oneida. I have already mentioned, that the State, in remuneration to Mr. Kirkland, for his services during the Revolutionary War, conferred upon him a valuable tract of land. This took place in the year 1788; and, shortly after, and about the year 1791, he conceived the project of establishing a Seminary, which should prove a blessing alike to the people to whom he had given himself to be a teacher and a guide and to the sons of his countrymen who were rapidly establishing themselves here, and converting the wilderness into the homes of civilization. The land granted to him by the State furnished a suitable place, as he believed, for

the site of such an institution. This tract was bounded on one side upon "the Line of Property," as it was then called, being the boundary between the Indian reservation and the land ceded to the white man. Situated thus, at the threshold of the Indian territory, he looked upon it as just the point where the youth, fresh from the schools of the white man, should meet the sons of the forest and, together, unroll the book of knowledge.

At this distance of time, and with the knowledge of the changes which have taken place in the circumstances by the light of which he then viewed it, it is impossible for us to fail to admire the whole project, as he prepared it for operation. Who could then believe that a single generation would have hardly passed away, before the Oneidas, starting, as it seemed, from a savage state to that of a civilized and Christian community, would have withered before the vices of civilization, ere its virtues had found a resting-place among them; and that their story would have furnished so short and so mournful a page in the book of time, as has been written for them? And the philanthropist of that day might well hope that the foundation of such an institution would, from age to age, shed abroad healthful influences upon both races, and become a perpetual bond of brotherhood between the white and the red man.

With these views, Mr. Kirkland gave himself up to the project, expending his time and the means which Providence had placed in his hands, with unsparing zeal for its promotion. Through his exertions, a Charter of incorporation was obtained for the institution, in 1793, under the name of the Hamilton Oneida Academy, and a fund raised in, order to commence the erection of a suitable building for its operations. In 1794, the building which, after the elevation of the Seminary to the rank of a College, with the style of Hamilton College, for many years continued to be known as Oneida Hall, was raised and partially finished, under the superintendence of our townsman, Apollos Cooper. As soon as the requisite means could be obtained, it was completed, and officers of instruction appointed, who at once established for it a character among the first in rank of the Academies in the State. The fostering care of its founder never flagged, in efforts to improve its condition and increase its usefulness, and to prepare the way for its elevation to the rank of a College, which, from its inception, he had contemplated. And most deeply is this whole community indebted to him for the blessings it has already dispensed upon the population of our land. And I may here remark, that whatever change the experience of the last twenty-five years may have dictated, as an improvement in the location of a College in

the central portion of New York, under its present circumstances and prospects for the future, yet, during the life-time of its founder, there was no circumstance existing which would have justified the preference of another location or induced the belief that the utility of the institution would be increased or promoted by its establishment upon a different site. His first object, to render it a Seminary for the Indian as well as the white youth, required its establishment upon the frontier ground it occupied; and, when yielding to the white man's offers, the sons of the forest retreated from the boundaries of their then territory, the local importance of no one of the existing villages, in the vicinity, was so much in advance of Clinton as to warrant the belief that it furnished a more desirable place for its operations.

The death of Mr. Kirkland occurred in the Spring of the year 1808. The place he occupied in the early history of Oneida-county was most important, and one which will continue to exert an influence through all time. Jefferson desired that upon *his* tomb might be inscribed, "The 'founder of the University of Virginia.'" He could exult, as he foresaw the day when the splendor of her halls and the magnificence of her appointments would reflect lustre upon the name of even the author of the Declaration of Independence; and, with a pardonable vanity, he desired to secure for it the glory. But the founder of Hamilton College had a purer motive to actuate him, in his enterprise. He asked no monument which should remind the careless of the Indian Missionary, and keep his name fresh before the public gaze. He sought to establish a School to diffuse the blessings of learning, and the arts, and religion, upon the benighted sons of the forest, as well as the youth from a more fortunate home—to open a well-spring of knowledge, where the humble as well as the lofty might quench their thirst for wisdom—and he little heeded what should be thought of the agent who effected the end. His name, no marble claimed to give to it a short-lived immortality—no brass transmitted for another age to admire. And though, in honor of its early friend, the town of his adoption now bears his name, many a year had his ashes slept in the cold bosom of the earth, before this simple, yet affectionate, tribute, was paid to the memory of the apostle and benefactor of Oneida-county.

Another name distinguished in the history of Oneida-county, and occupying no obscure place in the catalogue of American patriots, is that of the late James Dean. The history of this individual and his agency, in many of the events transpiring previous to and during the Revolutionary War, would form a volume of deeply interesting and most thrilling incidents. A na-

tive of New England, and the child of religious parents, at the early age of eleven years, at the solicitation of a connection of his father's family, who, as a Clergyman, had been engaged in the business of Indian Missions, his parents, like the mother of Samuel, devoted him to the service of the Temple, as a herald of the Cross to the sons of the forest. In order to prepare their child for the peculiar duties he would be called upon to perform, by the advice of the relative I have mentioned, they concluded to send him, even then, in his early youth, to become acquainted with the Indian language, and habits, and manners, and to grow up among and in contact with those among whom they intended his life should be spent. At this time, a branch of the Oneidas resided at a settlement called Onaquaga, situated on the Susquehanna; and to this place young Dean was sent to become a denizen of the forest. A Missionary occasionally visited the post; and to him the early education of the subject of our notice, in the arts and letters of civilized life, was entrusted, while he was acquiring, with every day's growth, the accomplishments which go to make up the thoroughbred native of the wilderness. Here he continued, until he arrived at a suitable age to enter Dartmouth College, with which institution, very shortly after it received its Charter, he connected himself. He there completed his under-graduate course, in 1773, and was graduated in the third Class which received its honors at that institution. Previous to his graduation, he accompanied a friend, the Rev. Sylvanus Ripley, afterwards the first Professor of Divinity of the College, on a Mission to the Indians residing at Penobscot and on the Bay of Fundy. In a publication of the first President, Wheelock, printed at Hartford, in 1773, he is spoken of in the following manner :

"Mr. Dean has now finished his course of studies here; and, upon finding, as I have already mentioned, that he may, with little expense, be able to preach to the Hurons, freely, in their own tongue, he has determined, if God please, when he has perfected himself in the French tongue, to enter on a Mission, and, with a proper companion, preach as an itinerant, not only to the Six Nations, (with whom he lived many years from his youth,) but to the tribes that can understand him, to a thousand miles, if such there are at that distance."

Such were the views and intentions with which he received his Bachelor's diploma; and he accordingly commenced studies in theology, and continued them, for several months, when he was regularly licensed as a Preacher of the Gospel, though, owing to the circumstances which afterwards gave a change to his pursuits, he never was ordained to the sacred office.

It will be recollected, that the period at which I have now arrived was that of the commencement of the troubles which preceded the War of the Revolution. The odious duty upon tea was exciting, in America, the deepest feeling of opposition to the administration of affairs in the mother country; and resolutions of resistance to its execution, amounting to open rebellion, were publicly passed in the popular assemblies, held in every Colony. The opposition to the entrance of ships bearing cargoes of tea into New York, Philadelphia, and most of the ports of the Colonies; the destruction of the tea, in Boston-harbor, in the Winter of '73-'74; and the measures of the Government thereupon, in the passage of the Bill shutting up the port of Boston, as a punishment for the insult to the Royal authority; the Act of Parliament altering the whole form of Government, in Massachusetts, and authorizing the removal of persons accused of murder or of any capital offence in aiding the enforcement of these laws, by the magistracy, to the mother country for trial, early in the year 1774, had increased the feeling of excitement which pervaded all the Colonies, and rendered universal the belief that a crisis was approaching, in which it would become necessary for all the Colonies to defend their rights with strong arm. At this period, when the first Continental Congress was assembling at Philadelphia and the leading citizens of each Colony were endeavoring to ascertain the sentiments of all classes of people, relative to the contest that was portending, the peculiar talents and qualifications which his education had afforded him recommended the subject of our notice to the Continental authorities, as a suitable person to ascertain the feeling of the Indians, in New York and Canada, and the part they would probably take, in the event of a War with the mother country. In order to disguise the object of his mission, it was arranged that he should assume the business of an Indian-trader; and he was accordingly furnished with such goods as were then carried into the Indian country, by that class of persons, and with letters, bills of parcels, and other documents, from a well-known house, at Boston, at that time engaged in the traffic, in order to authenticate his assumed character. Thus prepared, he set out upon an expedition to visit the Six Nations and the various branches of the different tribes composing them, or connected with them, living in Canada. In the course of his travels, in Lower Canada, he was arrested, by the British authorities, as a spy, and carried to Quebec; but, by a prudent and careful bearing of himself, aided by the papers which he carried, he was discharged, and returned home, having successfully accomplished the object of his mission. As the troubles increased, in the

Colonies, his services became of great importance to the country, in order to conciliate the Indian tribes, and as a means of communication with them. An adopted son of the Oneidas, educated in all their habits and customs, and skilled, moreover, in all the white man's knowledge, the nation regarded him with more than parental affection; and to the regard which they entertained for him and their religious teacher, Mr. Kirkland, may be wholly attributed their friendship for the Colonists, while most of the other portions of the Six Nations adhered to the arms of the mother country. On the final outbreak of hostilities, in 1775, and the assignment of the command of the Northwestern frontier of New York to General Schuyler, Mr. Dean was appointed to the office of Indian Agent, with the staff-rank of Major in the Army; and, during the whole War of the Revolution, he continued his services to the country, in that capacity. For most of the time, his duties were performed in the neighborhood of the Oneidas. A very considerable portion of the War, he was stationed at Fort Stanwix, the site of the present village of Rome, and, by virtue of his office, superintended the intercourse with the Indians, and the obtaining of all information through them. By means of an Indian scout, in his employment, known to the early settlers of the County, and, indeed, remembered by the writer, as *Saucy Nick*, he obtained information of the very hour that the attack was to be made upon Cherry Valley, previous to the massacre at that ill-fated settlement, and in sufficient time to have Colonel Alden, the Commander of the post, apprised of it. The intelligence was transmitted to him, through the Commandant of the garrison at Fort Stanwix; but the ill-fated Alden, disregarding the news and sneering at it as an Indian humbug, permitted the inhabitants of the settlement, peacefully, and unalarmed, and unprotected, to retire to rest, on the night of the attack, and, before the morning, paid, with his own life and the lives of those he was placed to protect, the price of his rash incredulity.

The siege of Fort Stanwix and the Battle of Oriskany occurred during an absence of Mr. Dean, down the Mohawk. On his return, with the Brigade, commanded by General Arnold, intended for the relief of the garrison, he passed the battle-ground, still strewn with the corpses of those who had fallen in the conflict, blackening, unburied, where they fell. The Brigade paused, and performed the last sad office to their compatriots and, when the earth had received their remains, proceeded to its destination. The subject of our notice, subsequently, was attached to the expedition of General Sullivan, in the western part of New York, and was present at the battle at Newtown—now Elmira. A manuscript

journal and narrative of this expedition, prepared by him, with great care, was, for many years, preserved by his family; but has, unfortunately, been destroyed. The information it contained would have been extremely valuable, and served to throw much light upon the manners and condition of the Six Nations, at that period. At the close of the War, the Oneidas granted him a tract of land, two miles square, lying on the Wood-creek, West of Rome, to which he removed, in 1784, and commenced its improvement. He here continued two years, when he effected an exchange with the nation for the tract of land lying in Westmoreland, known as Dean's Patent, and removed to his late residence upon it, in 1786, where he continued to reside until his death. Upon the cession, to the State, in 1783, of the lands lying outside of "the Line of Property," as it is called, the State, in view of his meritorious services, during the War, confirmed the Grant to him, by Patent, under which a portion of the land is held by his family at the present day.

Two or three years after the removal of Mr. Dean, from Wood-creek to the latter place, an incident occurred which furnishes a parallel to the rescue of Captain Smith, by Pocahontas, in the early days of Virginia. An institution existed among the Indians for the punishment of a murderer, answering, in some respects, to the Jewish code. It became the duty of the nearest relative of the deceased to pursue him, and avenge his brother's death. In case the murder was perpetrated by a member of a different tribe, the offence demanded that the tribe of the murdered man should require the blood of some member of the offending tribe. This was regarded as a necessary atonement, and as absolutely requisite to the happiness of the deceased, in the world of spirits, and a religious duty; and not as a mere matter of vengeful gratification. At the period to which I have referred, an Indian had been murdered by some unknown white man, who had escaped. The Chiefs thereupon held a consultation, at Oneida, to determine what was to be done. Their deliberations were held in secret; but, through the friendship of one of the number, Mr. Dean was advised of what was going on. From the office that he had held and the high standing he maintained among the white men, it was urged, in the Council, that he was the proper person to sacrifice in atonement for the offence committed. The question was, however, a very difficult one to dispose of. He had been adopted into the tribe, and was held to be a son; and it was argued by many of the Chiefs that he could now be no more responsible for the offence than one of the natives of the tribe; and that his sacrifice would not furnish the proper atonement. For several days, the

matter was debated, and no decision was arrived at. While it was undetermined, he continued to hope for the best; and his friendly informant kept him constantly advised of all that was done. At first, he reflected upon the propriety of leaving the country and escaping from the danger. But his circumstances, together with the hope of a favorable issue of the question, in the Council, induced him to remain. He had erected a small house, which he was occupying with his wife and two children, one an infant, and it was idle to think of removing them, without exciting observation and, perhaps, causing a sacrifice of all. As the Council continued its session for several days, his hopes of a favorable decision brightened. He, however, kept the whole matter to himself, not even mentioning it to his wife, and prepared himself for any emergency which might befall him. One night, after he had retired to bed, he was awoke by the sound of the death-whoop, at a short distance from his house. He then, for the first time, communicated to his wife his fears that a party were approaching to take his life. He enjoined it upon her to remain quiet, with her children, in the room where they slept, while he would receive the Council, in an adjoining one, and endeavor to avert their determination, trusting to Providence for the result. He met the Indians at the door, and seated them in the outer room. There were eighteen, and all Chiefs or head men of the nation. The senior Chief informed him that they had come to sacrifice him, for the murder of their brother; and that he must now prepare to die. He replied to them, at length, claiming that he was an adopted son of the Oneidas; that it was unjust to require his blood for the wrong committed by a wicked white man; that he was not ready to die; and that he could not leave his wife and children unprovided for. The Council listened to him with profound gravity and attention; and when he sat down one of the Chiefs replied to him. He rejoined, and used every argument his ingenuity could devise, in order to reverse their sentence. The debate continued a long time; and the hope of escape grew fainter and fainter as it proceeded. At length, he had nearly abandoned himself to the doom they had resolved upon, when he heard the pattering of a footstep without the door. All eyes were fixed upon the door. It opened, and a squaw entered. She was the wife of the senior Chief; and, at the time of Mr. Dean's adoption into the tribe, in his boyhood, she had taken him as her son. The entrance of a woman into a solemn Council, was, by Indian etiquette, at war with all propriety. She, however, took her place near the door; and all looked on in silence. A moment after, another footstep was heard, and another Indian woman

entered the Council. This was a sister of the former; and she, too, was the wife of a Chief, then present. Another pause ensued, and a third entered. Each of the three stood wrapped closely in her blanket; but said nothing. At length, the presiding Chief addressed them, telling them to begone, and leave the Chiefs to go on with their business. His wife replied, that the Council must change their determination and let the good white man—their friend—her own adopted son, alone. The command to be gone was repeated; when each of the Indian women threw off her blanket and showed a knife, in her extended hand, and declared that if one hair of the white man's head was touched, they would each bury their knives in their own heart's blood. The strangeness of the whole scene overwhelmed, with amazement, each member of the Council; and regarding the unheard-of resolution of the women to interfere in the matter as a sort of manifestation of the will of the Great Spirit, that the white man's life should not be taken, their previous decree was reversed, on the spot, and the life of their victim preserved.

Shortly after the erection of the County of Herkimer, in 1791, Mr. Dean was appointed a Judge of the County Courts, in which office he was continued until the erection of the County of Oneida, when he was appointed to a similar station in this County, and retained the office by successive appointments, and occasionally served as a member of the State Legislature, until the year 1813, when he retired from public life, and devoted his remaining days to the enjoyment of domestic quiet and a preparation for the time of his departure. This event took place in September, 1832.

The lives of few men present more claims to the affection, respect, and veneration of their countrymen than that of Judge Dean. From the circumstances of his youth and education, calculated to exercise a most useful and important part in his country's service, he was early called to act in emergencies requiring the display of great wisdom, strong fortitude, and sincere and devoted patriotism, in all of which he showed himself equal to the demand. As a citizen, his amiable deportment, his benevolence, and his unwavering integrity endeared him to all who knew him. As a magistrate and legislator, his strong and well-balanced mind, well stored with sound learning and the wisdom which is begotten of experience and extensive observation, commanded universal respect within the sphere in which he moved.

In connection with the sketches I have given of the characters of the Rev. Mr. Kirkland and Judge Dean, I propose to notice the siege of Fort Stanwix and the Battle of Oriskany—events which have made the soil of Oneida classic

ground, and which hold an important place in the history of the American Revolution. I will detain you for a few moments upon the subject; and then close my remarks for this evening.

Fort Stanwix was originally erected in the year 1758, during the French War, as it is commonly called. It occupied a position commanding the carrying-place between the navigable waters of the Mohawk and Wood-creek; and was regarded as the key to the communication between Canada and the settlements on the Mohawk. It was originally a square Fort, having four bastions, surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, with a covert-way and glacis. In the centre of the ditch, a row of perpendicular pickets was planted, and another horizontal row fixed around the ramparts. After the French War, the fortification had been permitted to go into decay; and at the commencement of hostilities with the mother country, it needed thorough repairs, in order to make it useful for the purposes intended. Upon General Schuyler being ordered to the command of the Northwestern frontier, he placed Colonel Gansevoort in command of the Fort, with a small garrison, and commenced the work of placing the fortification in a situation for resistance. Early in the Summer of the year 1777, the enemy's plan of the Northern Campaign against the Revolutionary forces became understood; and the necessity of preventing its successful issue was most deeply felt. The plan contemplated the complete subjugation of New York, by a combination of movements in three different directions, in the hope that, by severing New England from the other States, a more easy victory would be afforded to the Royal arms. In order to do this, General Burgoyne was to descend, from Montreal, by way of Lake Champlain, and force his way to Albany. In the mean time, a detachment of the invading forces, under the command of Colonel St. Leger, consisting of two hundred British troops and a Regiment of Loyalists, under Sir John Johnson, together with a large body of Indians, in the employment of the Royal Government, were to pass up the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, and by the way of Oswego, Oneida Lake, and Wood-creek, obtain possession of Fort Stanwix, and, passing down the Mohawk, form a junction with the main army, at Albany. The combined force was then to proceed onward to meet Sir Henry Clinton, who was to press up the Hudson-river, with the forces under his command, and occupy all the fortresses upon its banks. As early as the third of July, 1777, it became apparent to the garrison at Fort Stanwix, that hostile Indians were prowling about the fort. Precautions were taken to render the fortifications as secure as possible; and on the first day of August,

every thing was in a fit state of preparation for the enemy. There were, nevertheless, as yet, two things most essential in the defence of a fortification, to be supplied—ammunition and provisions. An express, however, arrived in the camp, on that day, bringing notice that a supply of these articles was approaching, in batteaus, accompanied by a guard of two hundred men. The supplies arrived on the second of August, in the afternoon; and, while the last boat was unlading, the enemy made his appearance, near the landing-place. The garrison now consisted of seven hundred and fifty men; and an examination of their stores showed that their provisions and ammunition would permit them to hold out six weeks, by husbanding well their resources and firing but nine cannon per day. A demand of surrender was now made by the British commanding officer, and indignantly refused by the garrison. The siege then commenced, with great activity on the part of the enemy. Upon hearing of the investment of the fort, General Herkimer, [Herrcheimer] who then commanded the Militia of Tryon-county, (as the whole territory afterwards known as Montgomery-county, and including all the State, West of Schenectada-county, was then called,) collected a force of about eight hundred Militia, from the Dutch and German settlements, below this, and started with them to the relief of the besieged. On the evening of the fifth of August, General Herkimer arrived at the Oriskany-creek, and sent two expresses, with letters to Colonel Gansevoort, informing him of his approach and where he then was, and desiring cannon to be fired to inform him of the safe arrival of his expresses. He also requested that a sally might be made, immediately on their arrival, to effect a diversion of the enemy's forces, in order to favor his approach to the fort. The expresses arrived safely in camp, on the forenoon of the sixth, about eleven o'clock. The cannon were immediately fired, as a signal to General Herkimer; and a force of two hundred and fifty men, with a piece of artillery, was detailed under Colonel Willet, the second in command, to make a sally. A thunder-shower, of which I shall again have occasion to speak, coming up, detained it for an hour. The sally from the fort was most fortunate. The camps of Sir John Johnson and of the Indians were taken; their owners put to flight; and the whole camp-equipage, clothing, blankets, and stores, the officers' baggage, memoranda, and papers, together with five British flags, secured and carried into the fort; and all without the loss of a single man. The British flags were immediately displayed, beneath the American ensign, as trophies of the victory.

Not so fortunate, however, was the fate of the gallant band marching to the relief of their countrymen. Colonel St. Leger, learning of their approach, detached a portion of the force under his command, with a party of Indians, to lie in ambush and intercept them. The path then leading from Oriskany to the fort passed the gulf which constitutes the present boundary of Rome, at the distance of twenty or thirty rods North of the present road to Rome, at that point. The ambuscade commenced in this gulf; and the enemy were lying concealed on both sides of the path, for some distance above it. On the morning of the sixth, General Herkimer, after waiting until about eight o'clock, and hearing no discharge of cannon from the fort, supposed his express might not have succeeded in reaching it, and proceeded with his command. The column, consisting wholly of Militia-men, and not expecting an immediate attack, entered the ambuscade, in open order and unprepared for action; and nearly half of the whole body had passed the gulf, when the Indian war-whoop became the signal of attack; and one of the most bloody conflicts of modern times ensued. The attack was general and from every quarter. Thrown into confusion, at the onset, and without the habits of military discipline necessary to enable them to rally in the fury of the strife, a portion of the Militia who had not reached the ambuscade, fled, while with the remainder the action became a melee of single contests, the Militia forming a circle around their leader, and maintaining their ground, and gallantly resisting the attack, until the violent shower, of which I have spoken, commenced, when the enemy withdrew to his camp. In the contest, one hundred and sixty Militia-men fell dead on the field; and a very large number were wounded and removed by the survivors to Herkimer. Among the number of the wounded was General Herkimer. He received a bullet about six inches below his knee, which splintered the bone. On receiving the wound, he had his saddle taken from his horse, which had been shot, and placed across a log, to form a seat for him. He was helped upon it, and sat there, issuing his orders, until the close of the fight. During the heat of the battle, he deliberately took from his pocket his pipe and tinder-box; and, filling the one, lighted it by the aid of the other, and continued to smoke until the enemy retired. He was then carried by the survivors of his command, to his home, near Herkimer. His limb was there dressed, as well as the circumstances would permit. It was, however, unskillfully done. He lingered, for several days, until it became apparent that

his end was approaching. When told this, he had his family called around his bed; and, opening his German Bible, at the thirty-eighth Psalm, he read it aloud to them, with a calm and full voice. When the reading was finished, his strength failed; and the intrepid warrior and humble Christian fell quietly asleep in the arms of his Savior.

After the successful issue of the attempt to relieve the besieged, Colonel St. Leger again sent a flag of truce, with a demand to the garrison to surrender, promising protection, in case the summons should be complied with, and threatening the fury of his savage allies, in case it was refused. The demand was spurned at and the investing army defied. It was then deemed advisable to attempt a communication with the settlements and the procuring of a reinforcement; and Colonel Willet and Lieutenant Stockwell, of the garrison, volunteered to go on the hazardous expedition. They left the fort, on the evening of the tenth of August, and succeeded, by a most fatiguing and perilous march, through the country lying seven or eight miles northward of the Mohawk, in reaching the German settlements, at Herkimer. They there learned that General Learned had received orders to repair, with a Brigade of Massachusetts troops, from the vicinity of the Cohoes, to meet General Arnold, with another force, and together proceed, under the command of Arnold, to the relief of the garrison. On hearing of the approach of Arnold, with his force, the Indians co-operating with Colonel St. Leger became dissatisfied, and threatened to leave. At this juncture, a Tory, (Tost Schuyler) who had been taken prisoner, and who could speak the Indian language, was released upon condition that he should go among the Indians and represent the force of the relieving army. To secure his fidelity, his brother was detained as a hostage, with a threat that he should be hung in case Tost was treacherous. The intelligence of Schuyler produced, in them, general distrust and alarm; and Colonel St. Leger, on the twenty-second of August, after having vigilantly and energetically prosecuted the siege, for twenty days, was forced to raise it and retreat to Oswego. The result, so creditable to the garrison and the officers conducting it, was also productive of most important consequences, whether we regard it as saving the settlements on the Mohawk from the ravages of a ruthless and vindictive enemy or in its effect upon the public sentiment, here and in the mother country. "Nothing," says the *British Annual Register*, for 1777, "could have been more untoward, in the present situation of affairs, than the unfortunate issue of

"this expedition. The Americans represented 'this and the affair at Bennington as great and 'glorious victories. Nothing could exceed 'their exultation and confidence. Gansevoort 'and Willet, with Stark and Warner, (heroes 'of Bennington) were ranked among those 'who were considered the saviors of their 'country."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

II.—THE FORD FAMILY, OF MORRISTOWN, N. J.

TWO UNPUBLISHED PAPERS, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILY, BY THE LATE JUDGE GABRIEL H. FORD, OF MORRISTOWN.

COMMUNICATED, WITH A PREFATORY NOTE, BY JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D.D., PRESIDENT OF WABASH-COLLEGE, INDIANA.

[From my scrap-book, I gather a few facts concerning the Ford family.

The maternal ancestor of the family—the mother of Colonel Jacob Ford, Senior—was the child of English parents, who emigrated to America when Philadelphia was a mere village. Her father's name is not on my record. ELIZABETH ——— married a Ford; but I have not his christian-name, nor any account of their children, except one—Colonel JACOB FORD, SENIOR.

From the family record of Moses Tuttle, of Mount Pleasant, near Dover, in Morris-county, I learn that Colonel Jacob Ford, Senior's, mother, ELIZABETH, was born in London, Eng., March 10, 1681; and died in Morristown, April 21st, 1772, aged ninety-one years. Her second husband's name was LINDLEY; and she was known, during the latter part of her life, as the "Widow ELIZABETH LINDLEY;" and is described as a lady of great personal worth.

Her son, Colonel JACOB FORD, SENIOR, was born April 5th, 1704, and died January 19th, 1777.

His wife, HANNAH BALDWIN, was born November 17th, 1701, and died at Morristown, July 31st, 1777.

"Jacob Ford and Hannah Baldwin were married" [here the record of Moses Tuttle leaves a hiatus]. "Their children were JOHN, PHOEBE, SARAH, MARY, JANE—married to MOSES TUTTLE—JACOB, JUNIOR, DAVID, and ELIZABETH."

JACOB FORD, JUNIOR—usually named in the documents of the day as "Col. Jacob Ford, Jr.,"—was born February 9th, 1738, and died at Morristown, January 11, 1777.

THEODOSIA JOHNES, the second daughter of the Rev. Timothy Johnes, D.D.—more than half a century, the honored Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Morristown—and his first wife, Elizabeth Sayres, was born September 13th, 1741, and died August 31st, 1824, aged eighty-three years.

Jacob Ford, Junior, and Theodosia Johnes were married January 27th, 1762.

Both father and son, Jacob Ford, Senior, and Jacob Ford, Junior, died in January, 1777—the son on the seventeenth and the father on the nineteenth. The widow of Colonel Ford, Senior, died in July of the same year.

Both are said to have been enterprising and successful business-men. I have heard it said that the father's state was estimated at seventy thousand pounds.

Colonel Ford, Junior, was the owner of the Mount-Hope mining property, four miles North of Rockaway, including some two thousand acres of land. He built, in 1770, the stone mansion, at Mount-Hope, which still remains; and also the forge, at Denmark, three miles farther North. In 1772, he sold his Mount-Hope property, to John Jacob Aesch, a native of Hesse-Cassel, who had been sent by the London Company to manage their iron-mills and mines at Ringwood, Long Pond, and Charlottenburg; and was superseded by Robert Erskine.

Colonel Ford, Junior, petitioned the Provincial Congress for the privilege of erecting a powder-mill, on the Whippany-river, not far from Morristown. His Petition was granted; and he built a Mill, which furnished a large amount of "good merchantable powder" to our armies. He entered into the contest with Great Britain, with great spirit; and was commissioned as Colonel, by the Provincial Congress of New Jersey. During the dreadful Fall of 1776, when the American Army retreated through New Jersey and crossed the Delaware, he was on constant duty; and his health was so broken, by exposure and fatigue, that, being seized with violent illness, whilst on parade, on the last day of the year 1776, he died on the eleventh of January, as the record of Moses Tuttle has it, or on the tenth, as Judge Ford states it, in his paper, which is now published for the first time.

I am not able to state whether the widow of Colonel Jacob Ford, Junior, received a pension or not. She was residing in "the Ford Mansion," when Washington led his army into Winter-quarters, at Morristown, in December, 1778. Her house was selected as his head-quarters; and, in this manner, her name is forever associated with that of the Father of his country.

The late Judge Gabriel H. Ford was the son of Colonel Jacob Ford, Junior, and his wife Theodosia Johnes.

With these desultory statements, I submit the two documents.

WABASH COLLEGE, IND.
April 5th, 1871.

JOSEPH F. TUTTLE.]

I.

Extract from the Diary of the late Hon Gabriel H. Ford, of Morristown.

THURSDAY 21 June, 1849.

A census was taken, in the years 1771 & 1772, in the British Provinces of America, and deposited, after the Revolution, as public archives, at Washington; but their room becoming much wanted, those of each Province were delivered to the Members of Congress, to cull what they chose, preparatory to a burning of all the rest. General Mahlon Dickinson, then a member from New-Jersey, selected some from the County of Morris, and sent me, yesterday, a copy, *verbatim*, of one entry, as follows: "Widow Elizabeth Lindsley, mother of Colonel "Jacob Ford (Sr.) was born in the city of Axford, "in old England; came into Philadelphia, when "there was but one house in it, and into this "Province when she was but one year and a "half old—deceased April 21st, 1772, aged 91 "years and one month."

I always understood, in the family, by tradition from her (whose short stature and slender, bent person I clearly recall, having lived in the same house, with her and with my parents, in my grandfather's family, at her death and before it) that her Father fled from England when there was a universal dread of returning Popery and persecution, three years before the death of Charles the Second, A. D., 1682, and two years before the accession of James the Second, in 1684; that, while landing his goods at Philadelphia, he fell from a plank, into the Delaware-river, and was drowned, between the ship and the shore, leaving a family of young children in the wilderness; that she had several children by her first husband, whose name was Ford, but none by her

second husband, whose name was Lindley, at whose death she was taken into the family of her son, Colonel Jacob Ford, Senior, and treated with filial tenderness, the remaining years of her life, which were many.

I am in the eighty-fifth year (since January last) of my age being born in 1765—and was seven years old at her death.

II.

Copy of a paper, in the handwriting of the late Judge Gabriel H. Ford, of Morristown, N.J., and now in the possession of his son, Henry A. Ford, Esqr., touching the application of the widow of Colonel Jacob Ford, Junior, for a pension.

The Act which was passed in New Jersey, on the tenth day of June, 1779, in the fourth Section, contains a recital and enactment, in substance, as follows: "And, whereas, justice requires that those unfortunate women who have lost or may hereafter lose their husbands, in the service of their country, should receive a compensation in some measure equivalent to the benefits that would have resulted to them from the care and maintenance of such husbands, Be it therefore enacted, that the widow of every commissioned officer of the regular forces or Militia of this State, who, since the nineteenth of April, 1775, has fallen or, hereafter, shall fall, in battle, or otherwise lose his life, whilst in the service of the State or of the United States, shall receive, during her widowhood, one half the monthly pay of her husband, from the time of his death."

The Jersey statute-book contains a note respecting this Section, which Note is this: "The Resolutions of Congress recommending this measure were published after the passing of this Act. I have never been able to find those Resolutions though they are most probably entered in the Journals of Congress."

The Provincial Congress of New Jersey, by their Commission dated the twelfth of January, 1776, constituted and appointed Jacob Ford, Junior, First Colonel of the First Regiment of Militia, in the County of Morris, by virtue of which Commission, he held and executed that office until the thirty-first of December, 1776, when his constitution gave way under the pressure of duty—being then seized with delirium and fever, that terminated his life in ten days, on the tenth day of January, 1777.

The proof of actual service is as follows: *Certificate of Timothy Jones, Jr., Surgeon of the Regiment*—that, when the Regiment, in the beginning of January, 1777, marched from quarters, at Morristown, Colonel Ford was left behind, among the sick, where the Surgeon stayed and attended him, until the tenth of the month,

when he died, having exposed himself, that Fall and Winter, beyond what his constitution could bear, in making what was commonly denominated "the Mud-rounds" and, afterwards, in constant service on the lines, with the troops, till their retreat to Morristown, where they went into quarters and where he died.

The Certificate of Brigadier-general William Maxwell, who certifies thus: "I was ordered by His Excellency, General Washington, about the latter end of December, 1776, to take command of the troops at Morristown. General Washington informed me they would consist of some Continentals, with two Regiments of Militia or Levies. I received the Continentals from General McDougal; and applied to Colonel Ford, Junior, for the troops under his command; and, while he was collecting some and preparing those he had for service, he was taken sick, during duty, of a parade, of which sickness I was informed shortly after, he died. I marched off his troops to the lines of the enemy, under the care of his other officers; and most part remained with me, there, during the Winter."

The Certificate of Joseph Lewis, Quartermaster of Colonel Ford's Battalion of Militia and Levies, that the Provision-returns were signed by Colonel Ford, up to the thirtieth of December, 1776; that provisions were drawn for him up to the sixth of January, 1777; that he died on the tenth of the same month; and that, during his sickness, the Returns were made out as follows: "*Provision Return for part of Colonel Ford's Battalion for the three months Levies, commanded by Lieut. Col. Spencer.*"

The case from parol evidence, will appear as follows:—That, after serving a considerable time, on the lines, marching and counter-marching, about Springfield, Elizabethtown, Westfield and Chatham, they retreated, on the twenty-second of December, from Chatham, to Morristown, where they went into Quarters. There General Maxwell took the principal command and that, on the morning of the thirty-first, Colonel Ford being seized with a delirium in his head, on the actual Parade, he was borne off by a couple of soldiers; after which he never rose from his bed. That a double guard was mounted, before his door, during his sickness. That he was attended by the Regimental Surgeon; and, having died on the tenth of January, he had a military funeral, by order of the Commander-in-chief, who had just marched into Winter-quarters, at the same place.

Applications to the Jersey Legislature, for half-pay, at this date, are rejected by them for this reason: That they now become State losses, the State having settled with the United States, who stood eventually bound for it. Hence the reme-

ly now is, by direct application to the United States, on the ground, as is supposed, of those Resolutions of Congress, alluded to in our Note, in our statute-book. Accordingly, in the month of March, 1794, Elias Boudinot, Esq., presented a Petition from Mrs. Ford, for an allowance of half-pay, which Petition, Mr. Boudinot says, was referred to the Treasury or War Department, where it is likely to be found.

If the claim cannot be substantiated upon the United States, by reason of his being a Militia Officer, still it may be supported on another ground.

An Act passed the twenty-seventh of November, 1776, for the raising of four Battalions or Regiments, which were in Continental pay, as may be inferred from a note in our Statute-books, which says, "The recruits were allowed 'six dollars bounty, over and above the Continental Pay, and were continued in service, 'until the first of April, 1777.'"

It is presumed that the Minutes of the Joint-meeting of the Legislature and the records of the State will show that he was appointed Colonel of one of these Battalions, or Regiments, though the Commission is lost or mislaid. But it fully appears that, on the twenty-fourth of December, 1776, warrants were issued, under his hand, to the Captains, for recruiting one of these Battalions; and they recruited and served accordingly. That the appointment of the Surgeon was by him, who served accordingly. So also was the Quarter-master. That the Provision-returns were made for Colonel Ford's Levies and, upon his death, that Lieutenant-colonel Spencer, who had been second in command, became Colonel of the Regiment, and the former Major became Lieutenant-colonel.

Accordingly, Mr. Boudinot was furnished with two Petitions claiming half-pay, in one case, as the widow of a Militia Colonel, and in the other as a Colonel of Levies—requesting to put the claim on either ground, as should appear, on enquiry, to be the most promising. It is not improbable that, by way of superseding the necessity and trouble of enquiry, he lodged both Petitions in the office. But this is a conjecture. Since that time he has once, and perhaps twice, said, that he expected the Secretary would shortly report upon it.*

The foregoing facts are capable of the most ample proof, if, on enquiry, either of those cases entitle the petitioners to half-pay.

III.—THE EARLY BAPTISTS, IN CENTRAL NEW YORK.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 49.

By REVS. A. HOSMER AND J. LAWTON.

Fifth session of the Otsego Association, holden at Exeter on the 4th and 5th of September 1799.

Wednesday, September 4, 1799. 10 o'clock A.M.

Association convened. Sermon from II. Cor. v. 20. by Eld'r Farman. Letters from the churches were read.

State of the churches since last Association.

Dismissed	127		
Excluded	22	Added	452
Died	15	Decrease	164

Decrease 164 Increase 288, this year.

The following churches were cordially received at this session, (viz) Brothertown, 2d Hamilton, 3d Norwich, Sangerfield, Schuyler-Short-Lots, and Worcester.

A sketch of the history of those six churches :

BROTHERTOWN.

IN the year 1776, David Fowler and five others moved to the westward of Albany, having previously obtained a cession of lands from the Oneida Indians: upon which they soon formed a settlement, and set up a religious meeting, which was carried on by singing, praying, and exhortation. In the time of the revolutionary war, they were greatly distressed by the enemy, being deprived of their cattle and most of their other effects; so that they were forced to break up their settlement and retire to the older towns. At the conclusion of the war they returned to their former habitations; soon after a dispute arose between them and the Oneidas concerning their lands; which was productive of much trouble: many other difficulties they met with from the English on account of their land, which were discouraging; but the providence of God protected them.

Through all their trials they kept up their religious meetings; and on the 24th of May, 1798 four persons were baptized by Eld. Parsons, and they agreed to send for a council. August 23d 1798, a council consisting of the churches in Fairfield-Palatine, Paris, Whites-town, Scuyler & Whitestown, and Hamilton, convened, who after inquiring into their circumstances, gave them fellowship as a church of Christ: their number was twelve. This church lies west from Springfield, distant about forty miles.

* As Congress, in the year 1794, were passing limitations upon almost every kind of private claims, it was judged necessary to petition, then; and Mr. Boudinot replied that he had put the claim in such condition as to be out of danger of being barred.

SANGERFIELD.

IN the year 1797, a number of persons in the town of Sangerfield, set up a religious meeting on the Lord's day. At this time there were some who appeared under awakenings; they continued their meetings through the winter; in the course of which there arose such opposition against the baptists having any share in the lead of the meeting, that on the 14th of April, 1798, eight persons met in conference at the house of B'r White, and agreed to hold up a meeting in the baptist order; the May following four persons were baptized; at this time there appeared an engagedness in the minds of many, and the congregation increased, and some more were baptized in the summer and autumn. Nov. 27th, 1798, they agreed to call a council to give them fellowship; and likewise agreed to give Eld. Butler a call to settle with them. Dec. 19th 1798 the churches in Fairfield Palatine, Whitestown, Paris, Hamilton and Augusta, convened in council, and gave them fellowship as a church in sister relation; their number was seventeen. This church lies westerly from Springfield about 25 miles. A small settlement in this vicinity, of about a dozen families, who were educated in the pædo baptist sentiments, were visited by the Lord, which induced them to turn their attention to things of a divine nature: the consequence was that several of them were converted to God, and all of them (except one or two) to the Baptist sentiment; seven of whom have joined with this church.

SCHUYLER SHORT LOTS.

A NUMBER of baptist professors living on Schuyler Short Lots, did on the 25th of Feb. 1797, embody into a church, agreeable to the advice and in fellowship of a council; their number was seventeen.

In 1799, the spirit of the Lord moved upon the minds of several, and numbers came up to the help of the Lord against the mighty. In about five months their number increased to fifty one. This church lies northwesterly from Springfield distant about 25 miles.

THIRD NORWICH.

Feb. 9th, 1799, the first church in Norwich voted to call a council to advise with them on dividing the church: accordingly on the 23d of March, 1799, the north church in Burlington, and the church in Oxford, met in council, and after enquiring into their circumstances gave them fellowship in their division; accordingly thirteen members were set off and

embodied into a new church, and received the fellowship of the council as the 3d baptist church in Norwich. This church lies south westward from Springfield distant about 4 miles.

WORCESTER.

IN the latter end of the year 1798, Elder Hosmer and Lawton visited a number of Baptist professors living on the Susquehanna river, in the towns of Suffrage and Worcester they were advised to get into a circumstance of embodying into a church. Eld. Hosmer baptized one person, and there appeared a pleasing attention among the people. They continued their meetings and Eld. Lawton frequently visited them, and baptized three persons. After struggling through many difficulties, they did on the twenty-first day of August 1799 receive the fellowship of a council consisting of the North and Third Churches in Burlington, the churches in Butternuts and Kortright. Their number was eight; since which time eight have been added. This church lies southerly from Springfield, distant about 26 miles.

SECOND HAMILTON.

FROM this church we have received no particular information.

Extracts of letters. 1799.

Butternuts. "It is with great satisfaction that we inform you of the goodness of God unto us. In September last the Lord began his work among us, his power was great and the effects thereof conspicuous; sinners were alarmed, souls converted, and the people of God rejoiced. Children forsook their toys, the youth their gaudy baubles, the middle-aged their undue worldly pursuits, and the old their long confirmed traditional habits; and all with united hearts bowed to the sceptre of prince Emanuel; willingly submitted to his government and came into obedience to his laws, and with joyful hearts consented to walk in his statutes. The work was in no one instance attended with scarcely the least symptoms of enthusiasm, but remarkably regular; and passions at no time exceeded the bounds of decency and good order: we feel ourselves under the greatest obligations to praise the name of God, for his goodness to us in this and many other respects; but alas we feel ourselves deficient in making suitable returns to our God for all his goodness exhibited. There is not that

"apparent engagedness in the cause of religion
 "that we could wish, a lethargic drowsiness
 "seems to pervade the minds of professors,
 "yet not to that degree as to exclude all sen-
 "sation, for we at times feel some of the vivi-
 "fying rays of the sun of righteousness, which
 "causes our souls to spring up anew, and reach
 "away to the eternal source of all good. No
 "difficulties among us at present but union and
 "love continues."

First Otsego. "Having obtained help we con-
 "tinue, but wading through afflictions and
 "trusting in him who never changes."

Aurelius. "God is good and deals with us in
 "judgment and mercy, but not in anger, 'Come
 "over into Macedonia and help us.'"

Sangerfield. "That man in his original state
 "was formed for society, and under divine
 "providence is greatly dependent on its aid,
 "manifestly appears from an innate desire to
 "extend his intercourse with his own species;
 "so in the kingdom of grace, the christian,
 "having the object of divine love in view, and
 "holding it fast in his embrace, brings it into
 "the chamber of her that conceived him, and
 "into the house of that body whose faith and
 "practice agreeth with his own sentiments.
 "And as small bodies though weak and feeble
 "of themselves, by associating together in the
 "bonds of love with more bodies, while each
 "builds over against his own house the whole
 "forms a cord that cannot easily be broken.
 "Taking these reasons into consideration,
 "agreed to make known our earnest desire to
 "be admitted into the Otsego Association.
 "Our cries we trust shall ascend to the father
 "of spirits, for the outpouring of his holy
 "spirit, that the kingdom of grace may be en-
 "larged, and the souls of all people brought to
 "the knowledge of Jesus, and thereby made to
 "comply with his holy ordinances as revealed
 "in his holy word."

1st Litchfield. "Since our last we think we
 "can say we have had some comfortable hours,
 "to see God's children animated, backsliders
 "reclaimed, sinners trembling, and some we
 "hope converted. Yet notwithstanding we
 "enjoy so many favors, there is a great inatten-
 "tion to duty, for which we have abundant
 "reason to be ashamed, we desire your prayers
 "for us and your watch care was over us, 'let
 "the righteous smite me it shall be a kindness,
 "'and let him reprove me it shall be an excel-
 "lent oil; which shall not break my head,' so
 "may we strive to walk in wisdom's ways,
 "which are pleasant, and all her paths are
 "peace."

Easter. "We have to mourn because of sin
 "which hath made a breach in the family;
 "but we more abundantly rejoice by reason of
 "grace which hath more than made up the
 "loss. It appears that God is at work by his
 "Holy Spirit on the minds of his creatures
 "here, and hath brought a number to the
 "knowledge of the truth."

Whitestown. "Although we have reason to
 "mourn the want of a general attention to
 "religion in this place, and the prevalency of
 "vice and error: yet we have great cause of
 "thankfulness, that God hath revived his work
 "in some instances among us: we have attend-
 "ed weekly meeting for prayer the year past,
 "and have been blest with some tokens for
 "good therein: some backsliders have returned
 "to Zion, and the Lord has made us joyful in
 "the house of prayer. From our experience
 "of the benefit of prayer meetings, we recom-
 "mend the practice to all the churches in our
 "connection; and while the voice of Infinite
 "Goodness to sinful worms still cries 'seek ye
 "'my face.'—May all our hearts answer, thy
 "face, oh Lord! we will seek. And may we
 "continue in prayer till sovereign mercy rain
 "righteousness upon us."

North Church Burlington. "Our situation at times, through
 "grace, is comfortable. The
 "Lord is pleased to bring some to confess
 "Christ by submitting to the ordinances of the
 "gospel. But when we consider the general
 "stupidity which seems to prevail among us,
 "we mourn that many run in ways of vanity
 "which if not repented of will land them in
 "misery; but the power of God is sufficient to
 "give them new hearts, and cause them to sing
 "redeeming love. We desire your united
 "prayers to God, that the vine which is plant-
 "ed here may be watered with the dews of
 "heavenly grace; that the streams which
 "make glad the city of our God, may continu-
 "ally flow unto us, to the refreshing, strength-
 "ening and establishing of our souls; and that
 "the glory of God may reside among us to the
 "latest generations."

Springfield. "We remain steadfast and unmov-
 "ed in our sentiments respecting doctrine,
 "which principles as a foundation of our union
 "we are bound in duty with you to support,
 "as being united in the same cause. We are
 "happy to inform you that the Lord hath con-
 "tinued a degree of love and union among us,
 "for which we desire to praise his holy name."

2d Hamilton. "We esteem it not only the
 "duty but privilege of God's children to labor
 "for and maintain union and fellowship, so

"far as an acquaintance may be gained, that they may with one heart and mouth glorify God."

3d Burlington. "We have been blessed with a good degree of harmony the year past; our state at present comfortable; we hold the same principles as at first, the cause of Christ is a good cause; the Lord give us grace that we may maintain it. May God's glory be our ultimate aim, till we shall meet in one associated body in the eternal world."

Schuyler and Whitestown. "We feel ourselves under obligations to acknowledge the goodness of God, that he has called a number of souls out of darkness into his marvelous light, not only round about us but some symptoms of grace and penitence appears in our meetings, several have of late given a satisfactory relation of a work of grace on their hearts, and some have been baptized. We have an encouraging prospect at present. We have dismissed thirty-eight, who are formed into a church of the same faith."

Pompey. "Since our last we have enjoyed a happy degree of internal harmony and outward prosperity. The goodness of God is manifest among us, and has given us some enlargement. We have had nineteen added the year past."

Worcester. "A feeble band, standing in need of help, and desiring assistance."

First Hamilton. "Since our last we have enjoyed good days; the Lord has we trust been here by his Holy Spirit, and converted souls into his kingdom; there has been a great awakening among the young people, and a number have made a public profession of their faith in the Lord and united with this church. At present it is rather a low time among us, but we still enjoy peace, union and comfort."

Otego. "We have a comfortable union among ourselves, though we are passing through a heavy scene of trial; but we hope that God will enable us to withstand all our adversaries: and while they are rejoicing over the sons of Zion, let us with one heart lift a cry to the throne of grace for protection."

Charlestown. "No difficulties—not so much life and power as is desirable."

Scipio. "We have had and still enjoy a comfortable union among ourselves; so that we feel ourselves under renewed obligations to praise the name of God. The year past the Lord has distilled some mercy drops on various parts of this town, which we trust has

"brought some sinners to the knowledge of the truth, and caused the hearts of God's people to rejoice. Oh that we may praise his holy name, and live more to his honor and glory."

Paris. "Informing you of our christian welfare which calls for grateful acknowledgments, while we make mention of the goodness of that being who has hitherto helped us: from whom we have obtained help to continue until now, in the enjoyment of a happy and precious union, with that harmony and peace which is truly comforting in its influence and blessed in its effect: yet we have reason to mourn, and in the deepest humiliation before God, acknowledge our ingratitude and unfruitfulness under these special favors; but we humbly trust and believe that the Lord has and does own and bless us; he is adding to our number such as we trust shall be saved, and our drooping spirits are sometimes comforted with hopes of a gracious visit from on high; there are numbers among us who appear to be attentive, and enquiring what they shall do to be saved."

2d Norwich. "It is a matter of joy to us when we hear that in many parts of this and adjacent states, God is by his spirit moving on the hearts and consciences of the children of men: yet we mourn that we feel no more of the heavenly influence among us. May God in mercy visit us with a shower of his grace. We are in a destitute condition as to preaching."

3d Norwich. "Inform of their stability and union, but mourn their want of engagedness in the cause of religion, and request the prayers of God's people, that they may be kept from dishonoring God, and wounding the cause of religion."

Schuyler-Short Lots. "Takes notice of the late remarkable outpouring of God's spirit in our land, adores God for his grace in bringing them out of darkness into light: For his goodness to them in visiting their settlement by his grace: in consequence of which a number were added to the church. Prays for more engagedness in the cause of truth."

2d Burlington. "A very low time among us, great inattention to religious duties, and the love of many waxes cold; a dark trying day among us, which calls for the fervent prayer of all the friends of Zion: But we still are encouraged to trust in God, believing that when Zion is thoroughly purged, her sons will come forth as gold that is tried. We wish to pass under the rod with patience, be-

"believing that all things shall work together
"for good to those that love God."

2d Otsego. "We acknowledge the goodness of
"God unto us in protecting our lives and pre-
"serving us from a discordant spirit: he hath
"been pleased to make some addition to our
"small body, which we hope is but a prelude
"to a more copious display of divine grace—
"there appears a greater attention in the minds
"of people in general, and of the brethren
"in particular, than for some time before. We
"find it necessary to be on our guard against
"imposters, who swarm in this day of error
"and delusion, and are nuisances to society,
"ravening wolves in the church of God. From
"such, dear brethren turn away."

"It is necessary for us to be on our guard, as
"our country is new, our settlements young,
"and men of all principles and characters are
"flocking into them: there is therefore the
"greatest danger of the poison of false prin-
"ciples being disseminated among the church-
"es. Not only so but we are liable to be im-
"posed upon by vile characters in the ministerial
"order, who will bend and twist themselves
"into any shape to get a footing among the
"churches. These considerations have given
"us much concern, and excited in us a wish
"that such measures may be adopted by us, as
"may have a tendency to prevent the evil ap-
"prehended."

Augusta. "We feel to rejoice and mourn; to
"rejoice that God by energetic influence of his
"holy spirit, has brought stout hearted sinners
"to bow to the feet of Jesus in this part of the
"land, that he has not wholly left us as a
"people, but is visiting one place and another,
"and gathering in his elect: We feel to mourn
"that we are no more engaged in this glorious
"cause, yet we humbly trust, that by the assist-
"ance of God's grace, we shall travel Zion ward,
"though our number is few and our strength
"small, and passing under trials; yet we take
"encouragement in the promises of God, and
"pray that these trials may be sanctified to us
"for our spiritual good."

Kortright. "We remain steadfast on the same
"ground of faith and practice where we met
"you. We enjoy a comfortable union among
"ourselves, and a degree of engagedness to
"persevere in christian duties is manifested.
"God has had us in remembrance, and brought
"many out of darkness into his marvelous
"light; a number of youths have been par-
"takers of this precious grace; we have had
"thirty-one added the year past."

2d Richfield. "A comfortable agreement among
HIST. MAG. VOL. X. 7.

"ourselves; our numbers small, but a degree
"of confidence, that we shall persevere, and in
"due time receive increase."

2d Litchfield. "God who is rich in mercy, is
"from time to time letting down some mercy
"drops among us, and we have reason to be
"thankful for the least favor."

Fairfield Palatine. "It is a low time with us,
"and we are passing through some trials; but
"are yet happily united."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

IV.—THE NATIONS OF THE VERMILLION- LAKE DISTRICT.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 73, AND CONCLUDED.*

The Winters in that region are often very
severe; and the almost incessant fall of snow
accumulates to a great depth: consequently, the
amount of game, in such Winters, is limited,
thereby causing great privations and suffering
among the people; being also the means of the
most horrible and atrocious deeds being com-
mitted by those who are suffering the most, un-
der the pretext of being possessed of the spirit
of the "Weendigo."

At a late annuity payment, a certain young
man was assisting in the distribution of the pork
and flour to the several bands, requiring the
pork to be cut up, in order to make the division
as near proportionate as was practicable. His
share of the labor being in that line, he unde-
signedly gashed his finger, causing the scarlet
to flow, most profusely, losing itself into the
brine and salt, or leaving a gaunt trace upon the
meat. On the next day, the "Ogemaw" was
informed that one of the Chiefs had been taken
sick, during the night, and was unable to fill his
seat in Council. In the evening of that day, the
"Ogemaw," with his interpreters, visited the
camp, and, upon inquiry, discovered the cause of
mal-at-ease of the Chief. He had tasted blood,
and yearned for more. His whole system was
undergoing a change under the influence of the
spirit of the "Ween-di-go." By the constant
care of the faithful spouses (of whom fortunatel-
y he claimed a plurality) in the administration
of antidotes, both in the inner and outer man,
the spell was removed, and "Ween-di-go caw
"ca-go-ed."

* From *The Bayfield Press*, Bayfield, Wisconsin, Vol.
I., Nos. 35, 36, and 37.

We are very free to say that we are not sufficiently ac-
quainted with the asserted importance of Indian mytholog-
y, etc., to either understand the meaning or perceive the
beauties and interest which are said to attach to this ar-
ticle; but we yield to the superior wisdom, in such matters,
of two honored friends, and give it a place in our pages.
—EDITOR.

As time will not permit, and as the patience of your readers has already been imposed upon by an uninteresting narrative, we will simply draw one or two sketches from the works of Professor Lo(w) and present them to our readers, being relatively connected with our story. Like the "wandering Jews," Maynabozha, the remarkable being, the great linguist and ventriloquist, had no permanent home, but roamed over the vast country, in which he was identified as the master-spirit. Whether in open fields or in the thick forest, he was among friends, or, as he claimed them to be, his "Neshemays" (junior brothers or sisters.) The beast of the field or of the wild forest, the diminutive insect or reptile creeping, was alike to him—even the trees of the wilds and the grass in the field understand his language; and his voice was familiar to them. Possessing the spirit and the tact of a diplomat, he, in a number of instances, displayed his powers of genius and tact in removing suspicion resting upon him as being disloyal to the fraternity in which he had identified himself, as also being unworthy of the confidence reposed in him by his "Neshemays."

On a certain occasion, while exercising his qualities of pedestrianism, and meeting with no adventure worthy of note, for several days, he accidentally turned up in the neighborhood of a lake, the margin of which abounded with wild rice, and upon which an innumerable flock of fowls, of all descriptions, from the glossy white-necked swan to the most diminutive and less descriptive of its species, were feeding and enjoying undisturbed right of sovereignty. Being conscious of the susceptible incredulity and prejudice prevailing among a portion of his "Shemays," as in other parts formerly visited by him, he most naturally concluded that, among so many collected together, there was, in all probability, a chance of having met some of them before, who might create a most pernicious idea of his true character, among his new-found relatives. Diplomatically setting his brains and wits to work, and sharpened by the insatiable appetite which had haunted him, previous to this adventure, he, in a most incredible space of time, had formed a project, which he put in execution, on the instant, which was to decoy them into a snare, and thereby meet the demands of the inner man.

Retiring to a reasonable distance from where he stood; in a few hours, he had constructed a suitable rendezvous in which to receive his "Shemays," of the web-footed order. Having, by some means, supplied himself with a package and appended it to his person, he proceeded to execute the design he had conceived toward his relatives. When within hearing-distance of the lake, and as a part of the programme laid out to

be enacted upon the occasion, he set his vocal organs to task; and, as he emerged from the forest and stood upon the bank of the lake, failing to be heard by the mass, there assembled, he advanced to the margin, still straining his lungs to the utmost; when, at last, he was observed by those adjacent to his proximity, and, as the word of his presence was passed from one to the other, the knowing ones among them huddled together, in groups, apparently to hold consultation and condemn the intrusion. Feigning not to notice them nor their anxiety, he accelerated his progress and increased his vociferous exertions in music. After various endeavors, on the part of the mass of fowls, to draw his attention, he was, at length, accosted by the most imprudent and venturesome of the flock, inquiring where he (Maynabozha) was traveling to, and what he had in the package he carried. His reply was that he had been in the land of the "Shaw-wan on;" and, under their tuition, had acquired the art of music, the collection of which made up his package, wherein the most credulous and curious of the flock suggested an exhibition of his faculties, in that respect. He objected to his so doing on the spot; but, if they would follow him, he would lead them to a suitable place, and there entertain them in the desired fete. This strategy resulted in his favor. All at once, the whole mass moved towards him; and he conducted them to the place he had previously intended for their reception.

Assigning them their positions, according to their size and merit, he proceeded next to give directions as to the manner to conduct the dance, and that, as the excitement heightened, each should signify it and their enjoyment of the exhibition, by uttering, occasionally, their respective cries. The lines of their evolutions having been defined, he proceeded to take a stand most apropos to his purpose; and the exhibition commenced. All eyes were to be shut, throughout the whole performance, and "go it blind." A most strict observance of that part of the proceedings was enjoined, which, if observed, would ensure to their utmost felicity. After several evolutions had been performed and the excitement was at its height, seizing upon the advantage thus presented, he mechanically selected the fattest of the swans and geese, and twisted their necks, without interrupting the exercises of the day or causing any suspicion as to the real cause of the noise uttered by the victims. "Quack!" "quack!" was all that was heard, by those in the rear. He still inspired them with words of approbation, as to their proficiency in the art of dancing, describing the noise uttered by the victims, in their death-struggle, as being an improvement in the performance. In the meantime, Shingebis, one of

the loon family, and one of the least noted of that "tribe," (but not the least watchful,) participating in the play and enjoying himself, nigh to the entrance of the lodge, ventured to open an eye, to espy what was going on, when, to his utter amazement, the most favored of the swans was undergoing the ordeal of a broken neck. Instantly, the alarm was given by Shingebis; and, amidst the greatest confusion imaginable, the whole mass of acquatics rushed for the entrance and made their way for the lake. Maynabozha, swearing vengeance upon the cause of the premature finale of the play, pursued them to the edge of the lake, and, precipitating himself upon the extreme rear of the flock, came upon Shingebis, whom he punished for his disobedience and watchfulness, by stamping upon him with his foot and dislocating his hind parts. Extracting himself from his perilous position, he reached the water and saved his life. "A curse upon you, Shingebis," says Maynabozha, "and, from henceforth, you and yours shall inherit the form of the dislocation of the hind parts; and your eyes shall be red"—the curse resting upon that family to this day.

But the most marvellous adventure he was ever identified in, as the master-spirit, has yet to be presented before the civilized public, which we will do, as near as possible. One day, rambling about in the midst of a forest, apparently without aim or purpose, he chanced to meet a pack of wolves, and, without ceremony, on his part, accosted them, thus: "My uncles, where are you traveling to?" The reply was, that they were migrating to a better country, where they might find some game to hunt and subsist on. "I hope you have no objections to my services? I will, therefore, accompany you to your new home; but I would have you transform me as one of yourselves." "Neptune, you are welcome to go with us, without change in your nature: your services will be indispensable, to stay and guard our home, while we are out on the chase." Having found a suitable place for their rendezvous, where, from day to day, they could forage upon the country, in quest of game and in pursuit of the deer which abounded in that region, in a very few days, their store of venison was sufficient for a number of months. The game getting scarce, they proposed to migrate further still, leaving one of their number with their nephew and the stock of venison on hand, for their subsistence. The proposition was unanimously agreed to; and, on the following day, Maynabozha and uncle Maingan were left in camp.

Maingan was a very successful hunter, and, day after day, added to their stock of venison; and, as, every day, the game became more scarce and retired from the vicinity of his grounds,

he naturally came home later in the day; and, for several days, Maingan had been out without coming home till after dark. Maynabozha's anxieties in regard to his uncle's success were aroused; and presentiments of danger were crowding upon his mind. One certain night, while impressed with vague fears for the non-appearance of his uncle, at the usual time, he fell asleep and awoke not, when ushered into the land of dreams, and slept until the arrival of his uncle awakened him, which was far in the night. Early the ensuing morning, with great earnestness and solemnity, he declared to his uncle his fears and presentiments of danger, also communicating his uncle the dream he had had, that night, which tended to strengthen his fears and add vigor to his presentiments of evil. He therefore cautioned his uncle, that, even in the greatest excitement of the chase, he must, on no account, cross or step over a river, brook, or any running waters, be it ever so insignificant; that the day he disregarded his advice, evil would befall them both. It was not many days after this event, that Maingan had been out, all day, hunting, without success, when, returning home, towards evening, he chanced to come across a victim of his search and instantly gave chase. The flight of the pursued led through a swamp, in the middle of which was a pool of water, which found its way towards the descent of the ground, imperceptibly, through the roots of the trees and plants surrounding the locality and also through the soft mud. Maingan halted on the verge of the innocent and insignificant pool of water; but his mind was excited; and his victim was in sight; and he leaped.

Maynabozha was alone, all that day; and was alone for several nights after. His store of venison being exhausted, he yet mourned for the fate of his uncle. He would search for the bones of his uncle; and, when found, he would search for the culprit who was the cause of his sorrows. Accordingly, on the instant, he put forth in the direction which his uncle had taken on the fatal day; and, to his great joy, came upon the ground where Maingan had started the doe, on the day of his disappearance. Following up the visible tracks of his uncle and those of his intended victim, he came upon the spot where the leap was made; but there it ended. No visible signs of the landing on the opposite side were discovered. Maynabozha wept at the fate of his uncle. Swearing vengeance upon the head of the cause of his sorrow; he proceeded on his way, listlessly, when he came upon the borders of a small brook, emptying from the numerous swamps he had traversed, where, perched upon a limb of a tree, and hanging over the waters of the brook, a "kingfisher" intently gazed below, into the brook, as if watching for some object near to its

existence. "Neshemay! what is there, in those waters, that attracts your attention; and why are you so watchful?" "Have you not heard of the great event, Maynabozha? The Manidos, who dwell in the lake, at the head of these streams, have Maingan, the great hunter, and feasted upon his carcase; and I am watching for the debris, cast away, that might drift down the brook, for my share of him." Maynabozha, without informing Neshemay who he was, having acquired all the information he required from the kingfisher, in regard to the nature and customs of the Manidos, in that vicinity, thought to wreck his vengeance also on the kingfisher, and stretched out his arm, to reach and secure him, by the head. With a simultaneous move, the kingfisher dropped his head; was caught by the feathers crowning it; and held for a moment—then darting away. Maynabozha was beaten; but, looking after his enemy, as it alighted upon a limb, out of reach, he exclaimed, "A curse upon you, Ogishkemanissee. From this day forth, thou and thine shall be marked upon the crown of the head."

Maynabozha left the spot; sauntered upon the borders of the lake designated by Ogishkemanissee; and proceeded to examine the locality, to satisfy himself as to the correctness of the account given by Ogishkemanissee. Perceiving a beautiful sand-beach, on the opposite side from where he stood, he repaired thither, for the purpose he had conceived. Being late in the day, the party who had been on the spot had retired, but left visible traces of their presence while, in the heat of the day, basking in the sun. Maynabozha left the spot, and retired to a convenient distance, intending to watch their movements, on the next day; and there arrange his plans for the future action, accordingly. The next day, he took up his march back to the lake, when the sun was high up in the heavens, and emerged upon the borders of it, on the opposite side from the sand-beach, prepared to take his observations. Presently, enormous sized serpents, water-snakes, and large-sized turtles were gathered upon the sand-beach and basking in the hot sun. He also observed that two of the largest-sized serpents had crawled forth upon the beach, bringing up the rear, and stationed themselves in the centre of the group, where a place had been left vacant. These last ones then are the dignitaries, thought Maynabozha. But I will teach these dignitaries not to trifle with me. Having observed and satisfied himself as to the facility of approaching them, the next day, he retired and left them to return to their element, at their leisure. Before the next sun had made its appearance in the heavens, Maynabozha was on the ground, in the edge of the woods which skirted the sand-beach, equipped

for war, in the shape of a bow and several arrows, duly prepared; taking the form of a pine-stub, and placing himself in the centre of a number of others, of the same identity, whose partially decayed and barkless surface rendered them all alike, in appearance, to any casual observer; but not so to the watery dignitaries, as will be seen as we proceed. First appeared, the large serpents, and snakes, and turtles, of all sizes, which took positions promiscuously. Next came the body-guard, comprising several large serpents, who surrounded the vacant place to be occupied by their Ogemaws. Presently, the heads of the two Ogemaws were visible above the water, appearing to scan the shores of the lake, all around, with its adjacent skirting, most minutely, before venturing to join their subjects. Maynabozha's disguise was penetrated by the keen eyes of the Ogemaws, who instantly ordered one of the serpents which made up the staff, to try his strength upon the remaining portion of the trunk of the tree which was designated, by coiling itself around and embracing it with power; if so be that it is Maynabozha, he will cry out and save us from danger. Maynabozha felt the pressure, but flinched or moved not. Another, but more powerful, was ordered; but Maynabozha stood the ordeal. The third one was ordered, which almost proved his match; when at the moment of uttering a cry, it relaxed its embrace, and uncoiling itself, joined its comrades, assuring the Ogemaws that it was not Maynabozha but simply a stub. Whereupon, the Ogemaws coming out of the water joined the others, taking their position in the centre of the group, on the vacant place. Maynabozha waited until every thing was quiet, and all had gone to sleep—their drowsiness being influenced by the excessive heat of the sun. Descending from his station, and appropriating his natural form, with big bow and arrows and with cautious steps, he proceeded to the beach where lay, coiled, the "Manidos of the deep." Stepping over the bodies of the sentry guarding the Ogemaws, he succeeded in reaching them; and, with sure and steady aim, his arrows flew and stuck into the flesh of the Ogemaws. Amidst confusion and uproar, caused by the cries and groans of the wounded Ogemaws, Maynabozha made good his escape and left the neighborhood, satisfied with having avenged the death of Maingan. For several days, he roamed about the country, meeting with no adventure, when, one day, he perceived traces of life in the neighborhood where he then was. Advancing still further, he noticed fresh traces, by the marks on the trees, they having been stripped of their bark, recently. Still following up the advantage, he heard the wailing of a person, apparently proceeding from a short distance ahead. Acceler-

ating his progress, he very soon overtook the object of his concern, which was an old woman, encumbered with a heavy fardean of bass-wood bark, prepared for service. "Grand-mother! what ails you, and why do you lament so?" "Ah! my grand-child; have you not heard of the news, how Maynabozha shot the Ogemaws, who are even now at the point of death. I am hastening now for home, as fast as my old bones will carry me. I am the Nebekee of the camp; and am expected home, at this moment." "Grand-mother! what do you do for them?" "I practice the art of nebekee and conjuring; and hope, by that device, to bring them to health." "Grand-mother! what do you generally say, when you enter into their presence; and what is the character of the chant you use on the occasion?" The old woman was a very affable person; and gave him all the information he required. "Grand-mother! what are you going to do with this fibrous stuff you are carrying?" "It is to be wove into a line, stretched from one end of the earth to the other, as many times and as intricate as can be done, whereby the whereabouts of Maynabozha may be known by a single touch of the line." Having obtained all the information he needed, he proceeded to rid her of all troubles in this world, by knocking her brains out; then, applying himself to skinning her, from head to foot, he fitted the skin to his person, in order to resemble the old woman as much as possible. Then, throwing the heavy fardean over his shoulders, and imitating the gait of the old woman, he proceeded towards the camp, crying and bewailing, as the old woman was wont to do, until he reached the lonely dwelling designated by his grand-mother. Deciding to be more prudent, in regard to his safety and the accomplishment of his purpose, by overstepping the bounds of punctuality in business, he took advantage of the darkness to do his errand of mercy, as physician and conjuror to the Ogemaws, who were, as he perceived, on the verge of death. The barbs of his arrows had taken effect, and could not be extracted; and, while he thus operated upon them, pressed upon and sunk them deeper in the flesh, which made the Ogemaws groan with pain and suffering. Before the next morning, they were dead; and Maynabozha was gone. In the meantime, the line had been woven, but, having been warned, he avoided being entangled until he was beyond their reach and made good his retreat. Thinking himself beyond their reach, he inadvertently laid his hand on the line and shook it, then pursued his way, unconcerned as though nothing had recently occurred to mar his peace of mind. But he was not to go unmolested by the "Manidos of

"the deep," whom he had so openly defied, and deprived of their Ogemaws. While thus pursuing his way and ruminating upon his good fortune, he, all at once, heard a great noise, behind him—a noise as of many waters, reaching, as it were, to the heavens; and, as he took to flight, the waters seeming to be gaining upon him. Meeting, at different times, with some of his Shemays, he begged to be concealed from the fury of the coming evil, and by them taken to a place of safety. None were able, as they, themselves, were victimized by his audacious adventures. Still he fled, and still the roaring of the mighty waters were heard, beyond doubt, gaining upon him; and, as he ascended the highest peak of the chain of mountains he had reached, the waters had surrounded him; and no avenue of escape afforded him even a moment's relief. Still he ascended; and still the sound of the waters followed after him. Hoping to outdo the mighty waters, he betook himself to the tallest tree, close by, which he scaled to the tip-top, and there awaited his end. The waters did come, and increased, till it reached up to his chin, when, to his great joy, it stood level and calm. For several days, he was kept a prisoner in his retreat. Fortunately, there swam around him several amphibious animals, in search of some dry spot whereon to rest and procure some subsistence. Among the many whom he had noticed were the Wazhusk and the Amik, who, in by-gone days, had often met with him and always been friendly. Calling Wazhusk to his side, he desired him to go down to the bottom, and, if possible, bring him up as much as a grain of sand. But the depth of the waters proved to be too much for Wazhusk; and its inflated body arose to the surface. He next called to Amik, whose confidence in the power of his lungs was great, and who ridiculed the impudence of Wazhusk, in undertaking such a job, for which he received the reward for his temerity. Amik consented to go, and forthwith disappeared below the surface; and, in a reasonable space of time, his body arose to the surface; more dead than alive. Maynabozha, feeble as he was, contrived to secure the body of his friend Amik, and, examining its feet, found a few grains of sand which had not been washed off, while the body floated to the surface. This he secured; and, casting it over the waters, in a weak and feeble voice, pronounced the words, "Let there be land; and there was land."

Y. P. T.

V.—SELECTIONS FROM THE PAPERS OF
REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY, D. D., OF
SALEM, MASS.—CONTINUED FROM VOLUME
VIII., PAGE 342.

FROM THE ORIGINALS, IN THE COLLECTION OF
MISS MARY R. CROWNSHIELD, OF CHARLES-
TOWN, MASS.*

3.—*Hon. Jacob Crownshield, M. C.*

I.

WASHINGTON, 13th Nov. 1803

DEAR SIR,

I had yesterday the pleasure of receiving your esteemed letter of the 2nd inst. for which I pray you will accept my sincere thanks. I had not calculated on being so soon favored with such proofs of your confidence and friendship, and you may be assured I consider it the more valuable not only on that account, but from the free and unreserved manner in which you have written to me.

You communicated the first intelligence of the death of my worthy uncle, Capt. Gibant, and altho' we ought not perhaps to regret that he is numbered with the dead, yet I must confess to you the news coming so unexpectedly upon me, I had for the moment almost wished his return. He has certainly "deserved a good character," and I hope he will not be altogether forgotten, and that he will still live in the recollection of his numerous friends.

You surprise me very much in what you say relative to your own case before the Supreme Court. I was acquainted with all the material facts at the time they took place, and know them to be as you have stated them, but I flattered myself that your Federal prosecutors (I might rather call them persecutors) would abandon their wicked designs against you. But since it appears that these restless fellows are determined to wound your feelings, and irritate you as much as possible, as well as pick your pocket, I hope you will convince them that they have committed a gross mistake as to the two first points, and with respect to the last, I trust your hand will for once refuse its tribute of respect, for sooner ought you to consent to close imprisonment for six months, cold as it may be this winter, than to pay them a single cent, from your hard but well earned salary.

Let the affair terminate as it will, I know you will have the generous support of all your Republican friends.

I shall be very anxious to know the result of this extraordinary business, and I beg you will

have the goodness to communicate the particulars, as soon as you can with convenience to yourself.

I am sorry your friends failed in the election of the new town clerk; some other suitable candidate would have succeeded; we must "*correct the procedure*" at the next March meeting, and if this is neglected or is not done, we shall most assuredly feel the weight of Federalism pressing hard upon us in all our town affairs.

If Mr. W. will not run well I should suppose he might be induced to relinquish his claims and then another candidate could easily be found, who would carry the majority of votes necessary to make a choice. I wish our friend Master Watson had consented to accept the office, and perhaps he may be persuaded to stand a candidate at the next trial.

I ought now to give you some information of the proceedings in Congress, but the newspapers have rendered this almost unnecessary, as they detail every thing of a public nature, tho' not always in the most correct manner. I except the *National Intelligencer* from this charge. The *Washington Federalist* is a vile and infamous thing, and purposely misrepresents the transactions in Congress. The speeches of the Federal members are made to favor their party, and the remarks of the Republicans are sure to be misapplied, and their speeches mutilated and cut to pieces in a wanton and barbarous manner, but these things are so common and so much a matter of course, that we cease to be surprised when we see them.

Are you not pleased with the purchase of Louisiana? I am sure you must be. Here it is the subject of warm congratulation with Republicans from the North, the South, & the West and our joy is not damped with any expectation that the prize will be wrested from us. It is true the Spanish Minister has made some trifling objections to our taking possession, merely to save appearances and *with a view of fixing better boundaries & saving West Florida to Spain* in which however it is presumed he will fail, yet we confidently hope nothing serious will take place between the two nations, and there is hardly a doubt entertained of our being immediately put into quiet & peaceable possession of the whole country; but Government is prepared for the worst, as well and Genl. Wilkinson has already received his instructions to act with a suitable force whenever it may be necessary. The Ohio at this season of the year has very little water in its channel; it will begin to fill in the next & following months, and the passage into the Mississippi will then be easy for vessels of considerable burden. A large majority of the inhabitants of New Orleans are friendly disposed towards us; the population is 8000. The whole

* We are indebted to our esteemed friend, Captain George Henry Preble, U. S. N., for the copies of these papers from which we print.—EDITOR.

of Louisiana on the west of the Mississippi, including N. O. contains from 90 to 100,000 souls, $\frac{1}{3}$ white & the other third people of color and blacks.

In this calculation West Florida is not included, altho' in fact we claim it as a part of Louisiana. The banks of the river Mississippi from 20 miles below, to 160 miles above N. Orleans are well cultivated and you see houses, and even many well settled villages in all this distance, and there are some valued settlements on the Missouri which is navigable for large vessels for 1000 miles from its junction with the Mississippi. You will hardly believe this, but I have the fact from Presdt. Jefferson himself who told me he held a manuscript journal of a trader who wrote on the spot in which he mentioned that a frigate could pass at that distance from its mouth, or where it emptied itself into the Mississippi, and far above that it was still a noble river.

Mr. Lewis the President's former Secretary is now out exploring Louisiana, he has a small guard with him; it is expected he will be absent 18 months or two years, and it is said he has orders to penetrate to the western ocean if he meets with no extraordinary difficulties in his route.

I am told this expedition formed a part of the secret business of the last Session of Congress about which the Federal papers clamored so much, and with so little effect.

You know how the western states were first settled with emigrants from the Atlantic States, and would you suppose these same people are now emigrating over the Mississippi river and taking up lands in Louisiana in the manner of our squatters in the district of Maine.

Gentlemen from Kentucky assure me that a great many of the inhabitants of that state and of the Mississippi & Indiana Territories are already on the wing for Louisiana, and that a numerous body of people will pass the river this season. They will not be stopped. We might as well pretend to enchain the river itself as to arrest the progress of population in Louisiana, yet I know it is a favorite idea with some in the administration.

It is expected that considerable tribes of Indians may be induced to give up their lands on this side of the Mississippi and take an equivalent on the other side, and the exchange would unquestionable be advantageous to both parties.

The amendment to the Constitution in the choice of Pres. & Vice Pres. has not yet come down from the Senate, we calculate on the necessary two thirds in that body; but Mr. Stone a Republican from North Carolina is supposed to be against it, and N. York has at present only one Senator so that it is not improbable it may

be delayed some time longer. I have however not the smallest doubt of its ultimate passage thro' that branch, and if it comes into the House with only a trifling alteration it will soon receive our sanction, when it will be sent to the Legislatures of the different states for their final ratification, and as N. Jersey is now completely purified we have two thirds of the states and therefore count on success as certain admitting that Delaware, Conn. & Mass. and even N. Hampshire vote against it; but we have strong hopes from the latter; and we do not altogether give up our old state. When N. Jersey sends her six Representatives we shall have one hundred & four Representatives to 38 Federal members.

I never saw men so much mortified as the Federals here; they can never rise again to power under their old disgraced name and it is only in our division that they can expect success, and this must therefore be guarded against, and the broader the line of distinction between the parties the better. The Presdt is growing more popular every day; he is in perfect health, he can be seen at any time, and without any sort of ceremony or parade.

A schooner sailed from Washington two days ago bearing the Louisiana treaties as ratified by this Govt.

If I can procure you any rare books you shall have them. Your observations on my father's case are much in point, and I only regret that I have not time to avail myself of them.

Believe me I am with great sincerity
your friend & obdnt. servt.

JACOB CROWNINSHIELD.

Rev'd. WM BENTLEY.
SALEM.

II.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 16th 1803

WEDNESDAY.

DEAR SIR,

I beg leave to inclose an account of Louisiana, for altho' you have it copied into the *Intelligencer* yet I thought you would wish to preserve it in another form.

We have now warm weather tho' it is cloudy but as late as Thursday last week the Tiber was frozen over. The ice however continued only one day. This is a very inconsiderable river, with hardly any water in it at this season of the year. The current is not rapid & it ceases to be navigable even for boats, at the small bridge crossing the Pennsylvania Avenue, leading from the Capitol to the Presd's house. It discharges itself into the Potomac directly opposite the President's house.

This city at present contains about 500 houses but they are not all inhabited, and many of them

built by the speculators remain unfinished. The public buildings are situated at a very considerable distance from each other.

The Capitol is nearly two miles from the President's house and public offices. The spot was ill chosen, it must be unhealthy in hot weather. There is no commerce here and of course no merchants. If it succeeds I shall be agreeably disappointed, and from what I can discover, a large majority of the members of Congress are opposed at bottom to the situation, but at the same time they consider the faith of Congress as pledged in a great measure to make it the permanent seat of Govt., and therefore they submit to many inconveniences, and the City of Washington is suffered to exist from a veneration to its illustrious founder and not from any intrinsic merits which it now possesses in itself.

I remain with high esteem & respect your
obt. servt.

JACOB CROWNSHIELD.

Rev'd. WM BENTLEY,
SALEM.

[ENCLOSURE.]

Information concerning Louisiana from a communication to Dr. Mitchell by the Hon. Thos. Sanford of Kentucky. The materials collected by Major N. M. Pitue and written at Kashnashius in August 1803.

The Fredos will find it to their advantage (after the example of the Spaniards) to divide Louisiana into two territories, the upper and the lower. Orleans will be the capital of the latter, and St. Louis of the former.

The lower province will be the country for the cultivation of cotton, indigo & sugar. In the upper will be raised wheat and all kinds of small grain, indigo, maize, hemp & tobacco.

Salt & lead are likewise the great staple commodities of this province, by which it may be, in time, under the fostering arm of our national government rival the settlements on the Ohio in supplying the lower province & the West Indies. In this region the curse of slavery ought not to be entailed on posterity.

The population of this country is extremely small. From about 100 miles up the Missouri, to the mouth of the St. Francis, extending about 50 miles on an average, back from the Mississippi, are the villages of *Bon-homme*, St. Louis, St. Genevieve, St. Charles 15 miles up the Missouri, New Bourbonne, New Madrid, Petit Prairie, Portage de Sioux, & Cape Jerredotte. The whole population of these places, is from the least calculation, about 6250 souls, exclusive of the slaves.

The Indian trade is very important, and if a company of sufficient capital was to establish itself at St. Louis, it might rival the famous N.

W. company of Canada. In order to give you some idea of the value of the trade; I can inform you that an individual has given the governor \$5000, for the privilege of trading on some of the lower waters of the Missouri. There are trading establishments 700 miles, from these they make excursions several hundred miles further, to traffic with the Sioux of the *Meadows* the *Sioux of the Woods*, the Padoreas, Kanezas, Grandeseaux, Missourie, and a number of their indigenous Nations. One trader has collected \$30,000 worth of peltry in the course of a single year. The Ozas or Osages border on the white settlements.

The Missouri has been navigated 2500 miles, and it was still said to be an immense distance to its source. Indeed, from the best information we have, there appears to be a probability of a communication by this channel with the western Ocean. The Indians assert the source to be in a lake, from which rivers take their course to the S. W. It is highly desirable that it should be explored.

Many things are told by the voyagers of the Missouri which are almost as strange to tell as the Volcano,* and mountain of salt. The latter is well authenticated, for I have seen some bushels of salt from the mountain, in the possession of an intelligent gentleman of St. Louis. From a French manuscript in his possession, I ascertained the dimensions of the salt-mountain to be 60 leagues by 15. It is supposed that the country abounds in Minerals; but as yet none have been discovered, except lead. This, near the village of Genevieve, is dug up in such quantities as to supply the States of Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, & part of Pennsylvania & Virginia, and the territories of Ind. Miss. & Louisiana, besides a vast quantity for exportation. A profitable manufactory of shot is erected there.

The whole of the Indians S. W. of the Mississippi and in Louisiana are calculated at 20,000.—but the most powerful of these nations are the furthest removed from our frontiers and are only armed with bows, arrows, spears, & war-clubs. We have ascertained that the mines of Santa Fe lie nearly on a parallel with the mouth of the Ohio. One of the men who work in these mines has his family in this country, whom he visits annually.

He reports that the journey can be made with ease in 15 or 20 days march on foot, or in 10 or 12 horseback; that $\frac{1}{3}$ of the distance is thro' the woods & the rest thro' an immense prairie; where not a tree, shrub, or knoll is seen to bound the prospect; and the horizon termin-

* Dr. Mitchell has a piece of pumice-stone that was picked up, floating on the Missouri.

ates the travellers' view for many a successive day.

III.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, 26th Nov. 1803.

SATURDAY.

DEAR SIR,

Having been occupied upon committee business for several days past, I have had little time to attend to my friends who have had the goodness to write me while I am here; and whose letters I have received in the course of the week past. Having premised this, I am now to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of Nov. (the date of which you omitted to insert.) I congratulate you on your escape from the fangs of the tiger. So you was introduced into the Supreme Court "among other criminals." Upon my word, what may we not expect next? You were tried "*for Contempt of Court*," and yet you had committed no offence. You have been maliciously prosecuted and your enemies finding they could not support their charge, and fearing the public indignation would soon run high against them, have been obliged to abandon the pursuit.

Well, *you* must forgive them, I suppose, but really was the case my own, I believe I should mark them, once for all, in colors which it should be difficult for them to deface.

You have been discharged on your own affidavit. I rejoice with you upon the occasion, and I hope the next time you pass P., you will make due acknowledgments, for the favors, which, through his means, were about to be conferred on you. I do not wonder that you feel indignant at these proceedings. I should be astonished if you did not feel so; & I hope you will take care to mention the ill treatment you have received, at every good opportunity which presents itself.

I enclosed & forwarded the letter you sent to my care addressed to the Revd. Dr. Bentley. It went to the post office on the very evening I received it; and I have no doubt it reached you in safety. I forget to mention to you that I delivered your letter to Mr. Gallatin, a day or two after I arrived in Washington. The Senate are engaged on the Constitutional Question, to designate the President & Vice Pres'd't., the republicans do not wish to risk the final question 'till Gen. Armstrong, the new Senator from N. York, arrives. And besides Gen. Sumpter of So. Carolina has not yet taken his seat. If these gentlemen were now in the Senate, I believe the amendment would pass. Yet I ought not to conceal from you, that we fear Mr. Stone, a republican from N. Carolina will be opposed to it. He has given no decided opinion this Session against it, but his conversation out doors leads me to apprehend an opposition from that quar-

ter. He boards in the same house where I am, with a dozen firm republicans, & we do every thing which is proper to induce him to adopt the opinions of the majority. We have no further news from N. Orleans. The best steps have been taken to secure a peaceable possession. If these unfortunately should fail, we shall be prepared for the worst. To guard against any difficulty, 5000 of the Kentucky militia have been ordered out to be ready & completely equipped, to march by the 20th Dec. and if any unfavorable intelligence rec'd. from N. Orleans, they will move for that quarter. Besides this number, some 500 horse started, or were to start, on the 12th inst, from Nashville, in Tenn., as a reinforcement to the troops, which unquestionably went from the Natchez & Fort Adams. But the horse will not be at the Natchez if they should not be wanted in N. Orleans. You see by these preparations that we have a firm man at the helm, who can pursue *energetic* measures whenever it is necessary.

I shall enclose you a small piece of salt procured from the famous salt-mountain 1000 miles up the river Missouri. I rec'd. it a few days since from my friend Dr. Mitchell who had just received it from the President. It is pure salt & was collected in considerable quantities from a body of it 150-miles in circumference; this is the history of it, and there appears to be no reason to doubt it.

The exports from the western states to N. Orleans will be much increased this year. Mr.] Breckinridge has assured me they can easily raise fifty or one hundred times the amount of produce for exportation, and ship it too, on their own vessels to New Orleans, but here they must stop for want of seamen, who must come from the eastern states. Many new vessels are now building in the western country, & they will descend the river in the winter, or early in the spring. Out of 13 large vessels which descended last year, 1 only failed, & she was run on shore from pure neglect of the people who had charge of her. Mr. B. said where he lived, was the finest country for raising heap of any perhaps in the world. The price would be only 80 & 100 dollars per ton delivered on the banks of the river, but the expence of transportation to N. Orleans & a market would enhance its value greatly. Corn was sold there last year at 10 cts. per bushel during the suspension of the deposite, & it is very little more at this moment.

The House of Representatives will repeal the Bankrupt Law; a resolution declaring that it ought to be repealed passed two days ago, by 99 to 13 only; and a bill is now on its passage which will abolish the law.

We expect favorable accounts from Morocco. The orders to capture American merchant vessels

turns out to have been signed, not by the proper authority, or rather they were not signed at all. But this was a mere subterfuge, yet it looks favorable for an adjustment of all difficulties, and the Sec'y. of the Navy has little doubt of every thing being soon settled with that power.

There are eight frigates now lying in the Eastern branch. The *Essex* was completely repaired in the upper works last year & the *Boston* is now under repairs. These ships do not wear well. The *Adams*, Capt. Morris, makes nine frigates now in the river.

I think I mentioned in a former letter something respecting the river Tiber which runs along in the neighborhood of this city. I ought to have told you that it once bore (and at no distant day) the name of "*Goose Creek*." This place remains in good health; but in the Spring & Summer, fevers & agues are very common complaints among the inhabitants.

With my best wishes,

I am your sincere friend,

JACOB CROWNINSHIELD.

REV'D. WM BENTLEY,
SALEM.

P. S. Upon casting by eye over this letter, I find I have not been correct in what Mr. Breckinridge stated to me relative to the exports from the Western Country. He said in express words, that they could easily export, *500 times* the quantity of produce, to what they had ever done, provided a market could be found at N. Orleans &c. where it could be disposed of.

The Spanish Minister is off somewhere; his family give out that he is gone to Phila., but he has been seen on the road to Norfolk. Before he went away he pretended to be angry that the Federal papers should dare to say he had *opposed* our taking possession of N. Orleans; as he said he had only requested the govt. would *delay* taking possession. He even talked of prosecuting the Federal printers, but all this will end in smoke.

IV.

WASHINGTON 3rd DEC 1803
SATURDAY

DEAR SIR.

At 10. O C last night, the all-important Constitutional Amendment passed the Senate of the U. S, by the necessary majority of two-thirds, twenty-two senators being in favour, & ten against it, *Mr. Stone* voting on the right side, having been secured by an amendment providing for an event which I believe never will happen.

If the election is ever brought into the House of Representatives, (which of itself is very improbable now the discriminating principle is adopted) and no President is chosen by the 4th of March,

the Vice Pres'd't. is to be the Pres'd't., and the number out of whom a choice is to be made, is reduced to 3 instead of 5, in case the President shall not have been elected by the electors in the first instance.

The nine federal senators from N. Hampshire, Mass., Conn., Del., & N. Jersey (1 Mr. Dayton) with Genl. Butler of So. Carolina, calling himself a republican, voted in the negative. And those in the affirmative were of Vermont, Rhode Isl., New York, (1 Bailey) New Jersey (1 Condit,) Penn., Maryland, Va., N. Carolina, Ga., Ky., Tenn., & Ohio; in all 22 senators. The other N. York senator Genl. Armstrong, republican, and the So. Carolina senator Genl. Sumpter, a genuine republican, being absent.

I beg leave to congratulate you on this occasion as I have no doubt you will consider it as of the highest importance. Federalism may now hang its head & weep over the misfortunes which it has brought upon itself, for had the party not opposed the will of the people, when the election was bro't into the House of Representatives in 1800, it is probable this amendment would not have been now bro't forward.

The subject will be introduced into our branch on Monday or Tues, at furthest; and there cannot be a doubt of its obtaining the proper majority. In the course of the debate in the Senate which I attended the whole evening to its close, many severe things were said on both sides. A *friend* of yours from Mass. in the course of his arguments against the amendment, took occasion to quote poetry; he said people differed in their religious as well as political opinions, & then alluding to the President in a manner not to be mistaken, he added, the following memorable words, from the Poet,

"Some think on Calvin, Heaven's own spirit
"fell,

"While others think he was the instrument
"of Hell."

I do not know that I quote right, and the gentleman himself said he was not sure that he did; but you know the lines in Pope, and can easily correct the mistake. This is between ourselves, and you will see the propriety of keeping my name out of sight, but you may relate the fact, for it was said in full Senate. The debates however were all taken down, and you will see it I dare say in the gentleman's speech.

I am happy also to inform you that we have peace with Morocco. The Secy. of the Navy has assured me that every thing has been settled, to our entire satisfaction; the old treaty is revived, no tribute to be paid, and the Sovereign of Tangiers mulcted \$40,000 for having issued the orders to capture our vessels without being au-

thorized, as is alleged. Previous to this settlement which took place on the 10th Oct. our little fleet was drawn up before Tangiers, which they threatened to bombard and destroy, and no doubt the Emperor was frightened into peace. After the proper acknowledgments on his part, and after every point had been arranged, Commodore Prebble & Mr. Lear came forward, and presented the Emperor his captured ship and crew, and even added a Tripolitan prize of no use to us, upon the condition that she should not be restored to Tripoli until an adjustment of our differences with that power, and then it was that the Emperor said that the Americans were his good friends and *The President of the U. States, the best Christian he had ever known.*

As hostilities have now ceased with Morocco, the bill authorizing reprisals on their vessels, goods, & effects, which was on its passage through the house, will be stopped. It is expected that we shall soon have peace with the Bey of Tripoli, as the Emperor of Morocco promises his influence; the Bey having married his niece; but we depend more on our squadron which has gone directly up to Tripoli, and where the ships will soon be bro't. into actual employment if the Bey still proves obstinately bent on continuing the war.

All quiet at N. Orleans on the 5th of Nov. We shall have later news to morrow, and you may rest assured no opposition will be offered. I would not say so if it was not the unanimous opinion of every republican in the city.

Excuse this hasty letter and permit me to add I am very sincerely your friend,

JACOB CROWNINSHIELD.

Rev'd. WM BENTLEY,
SALEM, MASS.

V.

WASHINGTON, 9th Dec. 1803.

Frid. Morning.

DEAR SIR,

I thought I had sent you the enclosed "appendix to an account of Louisiana," 'till I found it just now among my neglected pamphlets. It is quite at your service. The House expected to decide the great Constitutional question yesterday, but it could not be done. An adjournment was carried at 4. O C P. M, while many members had gone out to take some refreshment, with a view of returning to sit 'till midnight. Dr. Eustis moved to recommit and by this means *some* republicans were drawn off.

To recommit was almost, in other words, to reject; for it was very doubtful if we could obtain any other amendment from the Senate. Few republicans however approved that part

allowing the Vice Pres'd't to *act* as Presd't, in case the House neglected to elect a Presd't., before the 4th of March, whenever the right of choice devolved on them. The question was at one time reduced to this point, either to take the whole amendment as bro't down from the Senate, or to risk the loss of it. I send you the amendment which is now under discussion. We have only 120 members now in the City, the federalists have 35 of these; 40 is one third, so that if the federalists gain 5 of our members, or rather if they can bring over 6, the amendment will be lost. The debates will be resumed in an hour, and as I must go to the House, this letter must be closed. In haste I am yours sincerely

JACOB CROWNINSHIELD.

Rev'd. WM BENTLEY.

P. S. So far from opposing us at N. Orleans, the Spanish Gov't there, offered to send a guard of honor to escort our commissioners from the Natchez. This was on the 10th Nov., and the Spanish Gov't. was going upon a hunting party for a month, but put it off on being told by our Consul Mr. Clarke, that we should soon take possession. The place will first be delivered to the French Agent L'Ausat, and will then be by him, re-delivered to us.

The Spanish Minister has returned to Washington after being gone a week or ten days, and he now appears to be as peaceable as we could wish.

VI.

WASHINGTON, 12th Dec. 1803.

DEAR SIR,

You will find enclosed a report of the Committee of Ways & Means, relative to the expediency of discontinuing the office of Commissioner of Loans in the different States &c. The report contains a statement of the funded debt of the United States which gives 32 millions to foreigners & the remaining 38 millions is due to the States, incorporated bodies, & to domestic individuals.

The sum due to foreigners is very large, being 32-70 of the whole debt, the interest of which is about \$1,500,000 per annum, which altho' paid at the different offices in the U. S. is ultimately remitted to Europe, operating directly to the injury of this country. However in case of war it may be used advantageously, holding out a threat to confiscate, or at least to sequesterate, if the injury of which we might have complained was not redressed by a given day.

On Frid. evening, past 6. O C the 9th inst. the Constitutional Amendment for designating the

votes for Presd't. & Vice Presd't. passed the House of Representatives 84 to 42, the Speaker's vote being given in the affirmative. You will observe this is exactly the $\frac{2}{3}$ required by the Constitution.

I was very sorry that the republicans from Mass. divided on the final question. We all liked the great principle contained in the amendment which went to a discrimination of the votes, but very few among the whole republican body, approved the authorising the Vice Presd't., to act as Pres't., in case the House of Reps. should not elect a Presd't. before the 4th of March, when the right of choice devolved on them; and we stood as follows,

against	{	Eustis	and Skinner	} in favor
		Varaum	Cutts	
		Seaver	and myself	
		& Bishop		

Upon mature reflection I am not displeased with my vote on this occasion and I hope my republican friends will do me the justice to acknowledge that my opinion was given with the best motives, however some few of them may disagree with me in principle. We have no particular news in town, except that all was quiet a N. Orleans as late as the 20th Nov., when the Spaniards were ready to deliver the place to the French Ag't., preparatory to its redelivery to our officers, who were momentarily expected in the city.

I am very sincerely, your friend

Rev'd JACOB CROWNINSHIELD.
WM BENTLEY, SALEM.

VII.

WASHINGTON 3rd Jany, 1804.

DEAR SIR,

I have now sent you a memorial of sundry manufacturers of Phila. which is now under consideration before the Committee of Commerce & Manufactures. I also send you a letter from Mr. John Sibley dated in Louisiana 15th Aug. last, giving some account of that country. It will appear in the *Intelligencer* of tomorrow, but I tho't I could anticipate it one post at least.

I have not had the pleasure of receiving a single letter from you, for a month past, indeed I do not recollect that I have received any other than the two letters which you had the goodness to write me soon after I left Salem.

With my best wishes, I am

very sincerely your friend & humble servt.

JACOB CROWNINSHIELD.

Rev'd. WM. BENTLEY,
SALEM.

P. S. A report was made to day on the fisheries generally. It

proposes to allow a bounty on the tonnage of vessels employed in the *Whale fisheries*, but it does not propose to increase the allowances on vessels engaged in the Cod fisheries.

I shall send it to you, with the documents accompanying, when printed.

VIII.

WASHINGTON, 9th Jany, 1804.

Monday.

DEAR SIR,

Since this report was introduced, I have private information that the *Whale fisheries* are on the increase. A list now in my hands for 1803, gives the names of 42 *ships* in Nantucket, amounting to nearly 10,000, tons, now actually employed in that fishery (except *two ships* only, on merchant voyages) from Nantucket Isl'd. and it is stated that 15 vessels also belong to New Bedford, & go upon that business. Half the oil is consumed in the U. States; no great matter is exported to foreign countries. The Committee is raised of seven members to *inquire* into the official conduct of Judges Chase & Peters. It is probable the committee will report articles of impeachment against one of these officers at least. We were all disappointed last evening in not receiving letters from N. Orleans.

I am sincerely yours

J. CROWNINSHIELD.

Rev'd WM BENTLEY.

IX.

WASHINGTON, 16th Jany. 1804.

Monday morning.

DEAR SIR,

I hasten to forward you the official accounts of the delivery of N. Orleans to the American troops, agreeable to the stipulations of the treaty of the 30th April last.

Permit me to congratulate you on this happy event.

We are all in high spirits, and much pleased to see realized every prediction of the republicans; but the poor feds, how will they bear all this mortification? I pity them from my heart. With assurances of much respect,

I am sincerely yours

JACOB CROWNINSHIELD.

Rev'd MR BENTLEY,
SALEM.

P. S. I am without any of your esteemed favors for nearly two months. If you have wrote any letters in all that time they have certainly miscarried.

X.

WASHINGTON, 30th Jany. 1804.

DEAR SIR,

A resolution to bring in a bill to abolish the loan offices in the several States has just been negatived by 59 against 52. Had the resolution succeeded, provision would have been made for paying the principal & interest of the public debt, *at the banks as heretofore*. The object of the mover (Mr. Eppes the Presd't's son in law) was to save \$20,000 per annum in the expense of salaries, and to transfer the duties of the Commissioners of loans to the Treasury Dept.

Some inconveniences would have been sustained by the stockholders in their *transfers*, but none in their payments. Whatever opinion may be entertained on this subject, no blame can be imputed to the Presd't., for when the question being taken, his sons in law were divided in their opinions, as Mr. John Mann Randolph voted against Mr. Eppes resolution. Enclosed are two reports on Commerce & Manufactures.

In haste, with great sincerity yours

JACOB CROWINSHIELD.

Rev'd.

WM BENTLEY, SALEM.

P. S. All the Mass. members (save Mr. Bishop) voted against the resolution.

XI.

WASHINGTON, 5th Feb. 1804.

Rev'd. WM. BENTLEY.

DEAR SIR:

Altho' I have lately written you several letters I cannot help acknowledging the rect' of your obliging favor of the 13th Jany.

Your silence needed no sort of apology, and I had attributed it to the right motive a long time before I had the pleasure of receiving your letter. The death of Mr. Titler is much regretted by me; and the manner of it was truly distressing. To his family his loss is irreparable, and as they depended entirely upon him for their support, it afforded me great satisfaction to find that thro' your assistance, a contribution was made in their behalf to which I beg you will allow me to add the sum of \$20. It is at your disposal, and you will give it to them in what manner you judge best; and the only request I have to make is, that my name may not be known in the business. Your character of the deceased I think was just. He is gone; and may the God of peace reward him for all his sufferings in this world.

I thank you for the Salem news which you

have detailed to me. Wilds was to blame; and he never should have risked a suit at law. As to the others I leave them; yet I should not call myself a prophet, if I were to foretell the event; for I have very little doubt of the new street being carried through, and that Gardner & Co, will be disappointed should they bring their cause to trial. You was indeed unlucky in marrying the negro fellow you mention, only a few days previous to his committing the theft. I am sorry we are so placed as to make it our duty to prosecute him. Farrington's museum must be a curiosity. I presume, however, he has no relics of saints, or martyrs stored up *at present*. I doubt if it brings Mr. Spaulding to Salem. I rec'd a letter from him the first part of the Session, dated Bennington, Vt.; and a gentleman from that quarter told me he believed Mr. S. would settle there, as he understood he was to have a *call*.

Shall I now give you the details of Washington news &c.? Last Frid. the representatives, & members of Congress, gave a dinner, and the next Tues. a ball and supper in celebration of the acquisition of Louisiana. A very numerous company attended on both occasions, and every thing was conducted in the most happy manner. The President deviated from his usual practice, in dining in public; we were honored with his company, & when he retired, we drank his health in full bumpers & loud huzzas. Nearly 200 ladies and above 250 gentlemen were at the ball. The British Minister & lady; French Do., but the Spanish Minister did not attend. The little Marquis followed the example of the federalists in this particular, and kept himself at a distance.

The affair of the etiquette, about which you have heard much in the Eastern prints, remains as it did.

It is understood to be settled, that it is no longer under discussion. The Gov't could not recede; the Presd't. could not be dictated to by a foreign Minister. He had a long time since fixed his rule of conduct from which he could not deviate. Mr. Merry has found this out after being here two months nearly; & for the present the affair is put to sleep, yet it is said the Gentleman has made it the subject of an *official note* to his Court. Young Bonaparte and Lady came here last evening. The young lady is not a little proud of her new situation. The painter Stewart, is in Washington, and she has come to sit for her picture.

It is rumored that Jerome B. may be appointed Minister. This would be a good excuse for keeping him in this country, and I believe is the only way his character can be preserved with the French people. A young man, an officer,

and a brother of the Great Bonaparte, to be afraid of crossing the Atlantic because the English might take him. Shameful! Indeed it is too bad. He talks of staying in the U. S. until the war is over; and the ladies relations encourage the plan.

I intend to send you the copy of a letter from John Dickinson of Delaware. Mr. Rodney permitted me to take a copy. He wrote during the Revolution under the signature of the Farmer, more generally known as the Pennsylvania Farmer, as he resided or wrote in that State at that time. The letter is for your private use. You will put it on file; for as the parties are living it would be improper to publish it.

I propose likewise sending you a copy of an original letter from Cabarras County N. Carolina from a gentleman living within 10 miles of the famous gold mine. You see the existence of this mine is confirmed without a doubt. There is an old Dutchman whose lands adjoin the creek where the gold is found, who says *nobody shall look into his fields for gold*, and he will not even examine for himself, tho' there is little doubt that considerable might be discovered if he would permit the examination to be made.

A gunboat is building at the Navy Yard here, after the model of those in the Straits of Gibraltar. I feel certain that such boats might be employed to great advantage in the defence of our rivers and harbors, in many cases they would be superior to forts, they could retreat from danger, go into shoal water, and return to the charge whenever necessary. Men of War can pass a battery in a few minutes with a favorable wind & tide, & perhaps escape injury, but a fleet of boats would stop them in the narrow passes of rivers, and when at anchor these boats would annoy them greatly. One hundred gunboats, to carry even a forty-eight pounder, would not cost so much as one frigate & they could be supported at one quarter part the expense. The greater part of the crew might be landsmen, and the sailors might be reserved for the frigates, and it is this which makes them the more preferable. They ought not to cost over 5 or 600 dollars, & upon an emergency the U. States could furnish 1000 of them in a few weeks. I think some improvement might be made on the model I have seen. Commodore Morris who was recalled lately from the Mediterranean, has given no satisfaction. Had he done his duty we should have had a peace with Tripoli long ago. Some say he will be bro't to a Court Martial; but tho' he has been recalled and this has been usual, he appears unwilling to demand a trial. He hardly ever showed himself before Tripoli during the 18 months he remained in the Medi't'n. altho' a Danish fleet was ready to co-operate with him in the reduction of that place.

The Danes finally made a peace & left us to fight our own battles. I expect a better account of the officer who now commands in that quarter—it is said he will make a serious attack on Tripoli, as soon as the weather permits in the Spring.

I saw and handled the piece of gold alluded to in the letter from Cabarras; it might be worth \$4, it was as large as the top of the finger, & was pure gold. The proprietors expect to reap a rich harvest of gold in the course of the next summer.

I do not see that the republican papers in Mass. have taken any part in Mr. Burr's case. It is in vain to conceal the fact any longer; that gentleman cannot be supported at the next election. If the members of Congress were to agree to use their influence with the electors, they would not vote for him.

All the middle, Southern, & western states, are decidedly opposed to him, & whether right or wrong (but I presume it is right) another candidate will be fixed upon for the Vice Presd't. We shall endeavor to secure an *eastern man*. Mr. Lincoln & Mr. Langdon have been mentioned, & a gentleman in N. York, and another in Pennsylvania, but my own opinion is, he will be selected from Mass. or N. H., & I hope from the former. Mr. Lincoln & Mr. Langdon have now many friends at the seat of Gov't., & the Southern democrats have a very high opinion of Mr. Langdon in particular. This change of candidates will produce no injury to the cause, for there is nothing to fear except from N. York; and those best acquainted with the politics of that state, say there is no danger there. It is expected Mr. B. will be taken up by the *federalists* as soon as he is set down by the republicans. I did not expect to write you quite so long a letter when I first attempted; it is full time however that I should stop my pen. You will excuse my ill-digested letters, for I write without arrangement or method, and in a manner hardly to be decyphered.

With assurances of my best wishes for your happiness, I am with great sincerity your friend & obliged servant

JACOB CROWNINSHIELD.

This letter is copied by permission of Mr. Rodney, & is intended only for Mr. Bentley's private use. Mr. Dickinson is the author of the *Farmer's Letters*, &c., and is universally esteemed.

WILMINGTON, 9th Nov. 1808.

MY DEAR FRIEND.

Accept my thanks for thy letter of the 4th inst. and its accompaniments. The pleasing prospects opening to our beloved country cheer the infirmities of age. I rejoice

in her actual and expected prosperities. May the Sovereign of the Universe, whose providence has guided and guarded her thro' so many severe difficulties and extreme dangers direct & protect her in every period of succeeding events.

Our happiness, under Divine Favor, seems to me clearly to depend on two points, first, a perfect union between the friends of Freedom, founded on a congeniality of sentiments respecting principles, and on a generous affection for one another. To this affection, personal acquaintance is not necessary. It is enough if the parties are cordially attracted by the ties that comprehend them in the same sacred cause. It is the Holiness, so to speak, of that cause, which supplies the place of acquaintance.

I look upon Republicanism to be the Gospel of policy. It embraces its several objects with mildness and benevolence. In primitive times the *Heathens* used to say,—“Behold! how these *Christians* love one another.” Let the *Heathens*, I mean the *enemies of truth*, in our days be forced to exclaim “Behold how these *Republicans* love one another.”

The other point on which our happiness in my opinion depends, is this; that we be an armed Nation, sufficiently equipped & disciplined for service on short notice.

It should be *our religion* to be so prepared in order to defend the blessings which the Lord of the Earth has bestowed upon us, and to prevent the crimes which our negligence may generate. “I think nothing done, while this remains “to do.”

Yesterday the great Cause terminated with a verdict in my favor.*

The Court expressed their detestation of the plaintiffs claims in the strongest language, animated by a sensation of the meditated injustice & delivered with an eloquence universally pleasing, which their own dignity would permit. The countenances of some persons were truly pitiable.

Six hours after this most grateful determination, I had the most dreadful fall I ever experienced in my life. My right leg, my right thigh, and especially my right side, have been much hurt. My escape from death, & from broken limbs was wonderful. It is with difficulty I can sit up to scratch out these lines.

Trusting like the old Venetian in the strength of my temperance, I rejected all medical aid, and all friendly solicitations, and I am recovering. This state of my case, as I am within three days of being 71, is somewhat remarkable.

Thou hast made a very pretty oration on Free-

masonry, which did not appear to me to be a promising subject. I do wish, thou would make one on *Temperance*.

I am with truth, thy aff friend

JOHN DICKINSON.

XII.

WASHINGTON, 26th Feb. 1804.

DEAR SIR,

Agreeably to former usage the Senators and Members of Congress, assembled in Caucus last evening, and proceeded to fix on the candidates to be recommended as President & Vice Presd't. at the next election. 103 persons being at the meeting, all republicans, no federal members having been invited.

Mr. Bradley of Vt. in the Chair. The meeting *unanimously* agreed to support Thos. Jefferson for President by a vote *vive voce*; and then proceeded to ballot for the Vice President and upon counting the votes were found to be for Geo. Clinton (late Gov. of N. York,) 67. John Brackinridge of Kentucky 20; Levi Lincoln of Mass. 9; John Langdon of N. H. 7; Gen. Granger of Conn. 4; and Saml. McClay of Penn. 1 vote; in all 103. Mr. Clinton was then declared to have the confidence of the meeting, and it was agreed that he should be recommended for the Vice Presidency, but to be voted for in such a manner, as not to interfere with the election of the President; (this to guard against the error committed at the last election and if the designating principle does not prevail it will be absolutely necessary to pay great attention to this point.) A Committee was then chosen consisting of a member from the 15 States represented at the meeting (N. Hamps. & Conn. having entire federal delegations were unrepresented) to consider & report some necessary arrangements to the adjourned meeting of Saturday next.

You may be surprised but it is a fact that Mr. Burr did not obtain a single vote; indeed his name was out of the question. He arrived in the City two days since, and this decision I should suppose must be very mortifying to him. I communicate this intelligence to you rather *confidentially*, but I have no objection to your mentioning the substance of it to a few of our select friends, in any manner most agreeable to you.

We hope to rise by the 15th or 20th of March, but there is still a great deal of business to be done. I shall have the pleasure to send you tomorrow or next day, a valuable document on light-houses, with a particular statement of light money charged upon American vessels in foreign parts, which will show the heavy impositions on our ships visiting Great Britain. At the caucus last evening it was not expected to make a choice at the first trial, and we then intended to write the

* This was a land-cause, in which property to the value of one hundred thousand dollars, was said to be involved. Mr. Dickinson is very rich. Mr. Rodney said he could not be worth less than five hundred thousand dollars.—J. C.

votes in favor of Mr. Lincoln or Mr. Langdon, and it was calculated that the western members would have joined, but the first ballot precluded all further arrangements.

In haste, I am with much sincerity
your friend & obt. servt.

JACOB CROWNINSHIELD.

Rev'd. WM BENTLEY.

XIII.

WASHINGTON 11th MARCH. 1804.

SATURDAY P. M.

MY DEAR SIR.

I had the pleasure last evening to receive your kind letter of the 22nd ult. by my cousin Benj. Crowninshield 3d on his way to William & Mary College. Most cheerfully will I do all in my power to assist him. Letters of introduction shall be procured from my friends here, and his reception will be such as you could wish, I make no doubt. Dr. Tucker the Treasurer of the United States has already promised him a letter to his brother, the Judge, and I shall be able to procure him others. I shall introduce him tomorrow to the President, and to many persons who may on future occasions render him assistance. The Committee of Commerce & Manufactures have recommended that suitable persons should be sent to explore lower Louisiana; and the report is now printing; you shall be furnished with a copy. A letter having a strong bearing on some opinions and facts introduced into the report, I thought would not be altogether uninteresting to you.

It was probable that the report would not be credited by our opponents, and the Committee thought it proper to collect some evidence in support of their assertions. Mr. Smith is Senator from Ohio, and a man of veracity, and I have no doubt his statement is correct.

I send you a copy of the letter in order that you may be able to defeat the calumnies of the opposition should the report be attacked in relation to the salt country.

The Senate are to pronounce judgment on the N. H. Judge tomorrow at 12 o'clock as they have announced to the House, and the managers will go down to hear the opinion.

Mr. Burr retired from Washington yesterday fallen from his high position, put down, as he has been by the Republicans, we cannot expect that he will be friendly to the existing order of things; however, little or no danger is apprehended from his exertions against us, for in his own State his party are not numerous, and his influence does not now extend beyond it. I will endeavor to pay attention to your request, and make the necessary inquiries relative to the publications you mention. Mr. Gallatin has a small likeness of Mr. Jefferson which he intends

for you. If I have room in my trunk I am to take it with me, tho' there will be great risk of breaking it, as it is on glass.

Our report on the Seamen's Hospital fund has been given to the House, and when printed you shall have a copy.

With much esteem yours,
very sincerely,

JACOB CROWNINSHIELD.

The Rev'd. WM. BENTLEY.

P. S. The Indian Chiefs lately here, confirmed the acct. of the Salt mountain. They were questioned about it and said it was true, and the red men seldom *tell* lies like the white men. If I recollect right I had sometime since given some information in relation to one of the rivers of Louisiana where I mentioned that the water had *at times*, become so salt as to be used to make salt, by the inhabitants living near the mouth of the river, but I suppose the account was hardly believed, and almost doubted it myself.

XIV.

DEAR SIR.

Enclosed are the proposed arrangements for the meeting-house, which I hope will prove agreeable to you and Mr. Story.

A committee will wait upon you just before 11 o'clock in the morning and accompany you to the Court House, and it is wished that Mr. Story may be ready at the same time.

I am very sincerely yours

Rev'd. WM BENTLEY. JACOB CROWNINSHIELD.

SALEM 3rd July 1804.

Tuesday even'g.

XV.

SALEM, 1st Sept. 1804, Saturday.

DEAR SIR,

The enclosed list of electors of President & Vice Pres'd't. has been sent to me from Boston some time since; and I understand a complete nomination will be made in the next *Chronicle* or in that of Thursday. The communication is in confidence, as it will be proper the names should be announced first from head-quarters. I hope you will be gratified in seeing your old friend James Winthrop on the list.

Young Mr. C. passed thro' New York lately on his way to New Rochelle to see Mr. Paine. I wish to mention a particular circumstance to you the first time I can have the pleasure of seeing you.

I beg leave to congratulate you on the fair prospect of success in procuring the new Brick meeting House, and I hope it will be the means of adding something to your future accommoda-

tion & give you the opportunity of extending your useful labors.

As always, respectfully & sincerely

yours

JACOB CROWNINSHIELD.

XVI.

DEAR SIR.

The subscription for poor Tyther's family is returned with the addition of one name only. The *most wealthy people* in the town have been solicited to give something. You know the result. I hope some other person may be more successful.

With high respect &
sincere esteem I am

your obliged servant

JACOB CROWNINSHIELD.

Wednesday morning 24. Oct. 1804

P. S. I depart immediately for Washington at which place I should be happy to hear from you.

XVII.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, Nov. 7th 1804.

Wednesday Noon.

MY DEAR SIR,

It gives me the highest pleasure to inform you that the House of Representatives of the United States have chosen you as their Chaplain for the present Congress.

The election took place a few moments since, when you had 61 votes, Mr. Lowrey 21, Mr. Parkinson 13, and Mr. Grant 2; in all 97 being the whole number of members present. You will observe the majority for you over all the other gentlemen was 25 which is a greater number than usual on such occasions. Now my dear and worthy Sir, let me beg of you to accept of this appointment; let me entreat of you to put aside all considerations and come on to the seat of Gov't. as soon as possible with convenience to yourself and your Parish. I shall write immediately to Capt. Hodges and my father's family with a view of their making intercession for us; and I cannot persuade myself to entertain a doubt that you will have an opportunity of seeing the Southern States, the President of the U. S. and many friends who will be happy to embrace you.

I could wish the salary was something larger than it is; I believe it is fixed by law at the rate of 500 dollars per year, but it is common to add \$100 and \$150. to it at the end of the Session, and it was done last year and no doubt will be again, so that you will receive enough to cover expences; and your friends in the parish cannot refuse to provide a person to fill your desk during your short absence.

This Congress cannot sit longer than the fourth of March and if necessary, we could get you excused a little before that time.

HIST. MAG. VOL. X. 8.

The representatives of the people have paid you a high compliment and I pray you to enable me to say that we shall have the pleasure of seeing you among us.

I have just seen the Attorney General (Mr. Lincoln) and he promised to write you and it is probable Mr. Gallatin will do the same. The Clerk of the House (Mr. Berkley) will send you by this mail, the official notice of your appointment.

I would not for any considerations whatever have you disappoint us. Being on the spot you will have it in your power to procure reliable documents. I have no doubt your parish will immediately consent; surely they will not refuse. In this expectation and a confident reliance of your acceptance, I subscribe myself,

Your sincere friend,

JACOB CROWNINSHIELD.

REVD WM BENTLEY.

SALEM.

P. S.

The Senate only formed a quorum this day; and tomorrow we shall be favored with the President's message. The finances of the country & public affairs generally, stand fair; and on firm ground.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VI.—JOURNAL OF A PROVINCIAL OFFICER, IN THE CAMPAIGN, IN NORTHERN NEW YORK, IN 1758.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

COMMUNICATED, WITH ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES, BY ISAAC B. CHOATE, ESQR., OF GORHAM, MAINE.

[It is well known that, for the invasion of Canada, during the French and Indian War, Massachusetts raised, in 1758, a force of six thousand, eight hundred men; Maine, at that time, formed a part of the Province of Massachusetts Bay; and the quota of Falmouth, or Portland, was three hundred men. On the thirteenth of March, of that year, Governor Pownall issued to Jedediah Preble a Commission, as Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, raised by him, at Falmouth.

It is, also, known that, of these Provincial troops, twenty-five hundred served in the garrison at Louisburg, several hundred in the Navy, and three hundred joined General Wolfe, before Quebec. The remainder served under General Amherst, who entered Canada by Lakes George and Champlain. I do not know that the destination of these three hundred Falmouth-men has been definitely ascertained.

It has been conjectured—*Genealogy of the Preble Family*, by Captain George Henry Preble—that they were under Wolfe, at Quebec; and that Colonel Preble was Brigadier in command, at that place, perhaps, because the number of men detached for that service corresponds with the number raised at Falmouth. This question is definitely settled by the following Journal.—I. B. C.]

FALMOUTH, May 21st, 1758.*

Sailed with three Transports and three hundred

* By a hasty calculation, I find that the above date falls on Sunday. If mistaken, will the reader be so kind as to correct my error?

Winter Harbor is near the mouth of the Saco.—I. B. C.

Soldiers including Officers for the intended Expedition against Canada, and got into Winter Harbour about five o'clock in the afternoon.

WINTER HARBOUR, *May 22nd.*

Sailed from the above harbour four o'clock in the morning being foggy weather and small breeze Wind. Lay becalmed between the Shoals and Piscataque the same Night.

May 23rd.

Arrived to Kittery at nine o'clock and went ashore, and waited on Sr. W^m. Pepperill, and at the point Meeting house, the Rev^d. Mr. Rogers preached a sermon to the officers and soldiers from the first book of Samuel 17 C. 45, 46, 47 Verses, and after Sermon we rec^d our Commissions and was sworn by Sr. W^m. Pepperill and Col. Wendal.*

May 24th KITTERY.

Colonel Pribble settled Capⁿ Goodin's and Capⁿ Going's Comp's and Billiting for the Companies.

May 27th.

Wee were settling our Business relating to the Expedition.

May 26th.

Nothing material but ordering our officers.

May 27th.

I paid my Company off their Billiting Money and prepared for Sailing, and sailed 11 o'clock at Night in Company with seven Transports † and rec^d order from our Commanding Officer, Col. Jedediah Preble, if parted by hard weather to rendezvous at Albany.

May 28th.

Sailed off Chatham from Kittery.

* From this, we must infer that the writer was a commissioned officer; and the same is evident in many subsequent parts of the Journal. What was his rank nowhere appears; but it seems most likely that he was Captain.—I. B. C.

† The transports which joined the three from Falmouth, probably contained New Hampshire's quota of men. Colonel Preble, it seems, assumed command of the entire force. With regard to the rank of Colonel Preble, I will quote from the official field-book, one day's entry:

"LAKE GEORGE, Sunday, July 2nd, 1758.
"Gen. for the day tomorrow, Brig. Gen. Gage. Col. for the day tomorrow, Haldiman; for the Provincials, Col. Lyman. Field officers for the night, Major Browning. For the Provincials, Lieut. Col. Hoar, Brigade Maj. Spittle. The Provincial Regiments to be brigaded as follows, viz.:

"Right Wing {	Col. Preble,	
	Col. Williams	
"2 {	Col. Ruggles,	3 {
"B {	Col. Bagley	Col. Glazer,
		B {
		Col. Wolsey.
"Left Wing {	Col. Lyman,	
	Col. Fitch.	
"The eldest Colonel commanding each brigade is to make all reports concerning the brigade to the Colonel commanding the Wing.		
"The Provincial Colonels are to rank as follows:		
"1st Col. Lyman,	8th Col. Fitch,	
"2nd " Preble,	9th " Johnson,	
"3rd " Delancey,	10th " Glazer,	
"4th " Ruggles,	11th " Babcock,	
"5th " Bagley,	12th " Williams,	
"6th " Whiting,	13th " Douty,	
"7th " Wooster,	14th " Wolsey."	

May 29th.

Proceeded on our journey with the Wind at North, and sailed to Gay Head where we came up with a Snow * Capⁿ Rods Commander from London to New York who informed us he had 159 days passage. He took out of a ship's Main top 14 men in Latituck 39° and being put to great Extrenities, he came on board us and we delivered him some relief.

May 30th.

Calm Weather. Exercised the soldiers on deck, and in the afternoon, made the best of our way up the sound.

May 31st.

Fair and pleasant weather with a favorable wind till Night, and anchored under Long Island.

June 1st, 1758.

We sailed thro' Hell Gate, so called, safe, and came to anchor att New York about nine o'clock in the afternoon and I lodged ashore.

June 2nd, New York.

Sailed from New York 3 o'clock and anchored 7 o'clock. I took a view of the Fort, and took the number of the Guns and found there is 72 which is chiefly 32 pounders.

June 3rd.

We came to sail between two and three o'clock and proceeded up Albany River called Hutson's River, and anchored at 7 o'clock.

June 4th.

Proceeded up the River till Dark and then came to anchor.

June 5th.

Came to sail at 5 o'clock in the morning and proceeded up the River with the wind at S. W. Thundered in the P. M.

June 6th.

Came to sail 7 o'clock in the morning with the Wind at West, and in the afternoon at N. W. proceeded up the River towards Albany.

June 7th.

Calm in the Morning. Set sail 11 o'clock the Wind S. W. Sailed from Col. Hoffman's which is 54 miles from Albany and arrived at Albany 6 o'clock.

June 8th ALBANY.

Major General James Abercrombie left orders that 300 of the Bay forces go to Schanactady in compliance whereof Col. Preble drafted Capⁿ Libby, Capⁿ Cobb, Capⁿ Bowen, with their Companies to march to the South Schonactady and gave us order to furnish our Companies with Arms as soon as possible which Arms we received the date above.†

* Snow, in naval affairs, is generally the largest of all two-masted vessels employed by Europeans, and the most convenient for navigation.—I. B. C.

† From the language here, we should naturally infer that the writer of the Journal was, himself, one of the three Captains detached for service at Schenectada. This is the only clue I find to its authorship.—I. B. C.

June 9th.

Delivered his Majesties Arms to my Company and Ammunition and Major Berry was appointed our Commanding Officer. We left the Sloop and marched about a mile back of Alboney and camped that night. the Locusts was very plenty, and brought all my Company well from on board.

June 10th.

Marched from our Encampment 2 o'clock in the Afternoon. Came within 5 miles of Schonactady and Camped. Schonactady 18 English miles from Alboney.*

June 11th Sunday.

Marched from our Camp 6 o'clock in the Morning and Arrived at Schonactady 10 o'clock in the forenoon. It rained and thundered.

June 12th.

Took Allowance for my Company and mustered in the Barracks.

June 13th.

Lieut. Brown and I took a walk in the Morning and saw a Mill to bould flour, and also a Saw Mill with 15 Saws, and at 11 o'clock Sett on a Court Martial to try Seth Ring for not tending on his Duty, and Acquitted him of the Crime laid to his charge, in the Afternoon Major Berry Rec^d Order from Major Gen^l. Abercrombie† to send a Detachment of 100 Men to go to a place Called Schoharry which is about 40 Miles from Schonactady and Borders on the Mohawk River to press Wagons and horses to send to Fort Edward for which service I was appointed by a Warrant granted me from the Commanding Officer.

June 14th.

Took Provisions for 4 days for our March to Schoharry and Sott out from Schonactady at 10 o'clock in the Morning with a pilate who, Missing the Road and after some hours ravail we found that the pilate did not direct us right by which Mistake we made a halt and found ourselves the same distance, if not farther off from Schoharry than we were at Our Setting out from Schonactady. We Refreshed our selves and sott out, and in the Afternoon we arrived to a house where I left the Company and took a horse about Sun Down and Rode with the pilate about 5 Miles and came to a house where I spent the Remainder of the Night. ‡

* He notes the distance before the march is completed; from which we infer that he had learned it, this day.—I. B. C.

† Major-general James Abercrombie was intrusted, in '38, with fifty thousand troops for the purpose of capturing Louisburg and retaking Fort William Henry and other places in the hands of the French, which gave them the command of the lakes. The largest division of this force was employed at Lake George.—I. B. C.

‡ From the distance which he gives and his observation at Schoharie lay upon the Mohawk, I judge that they

June 15th.

I Sott forward on my Journey 5 o'clock in the Morning and arrived to Cornelius Rooman's Esq.* att Schoharry and dined there and proceeded on my Business and in the Afternoon I returned to the Esq^r's. which was 5 miles and Lodged att Peter Snyder's.

June 16th.

Employed all day with the Officers of Schoharry in pressing Wagons and horses and fixing them. Lodged at Esq^r. Snyder's.

June 17th.

Marched att 10 o'Clock with 11 Wagons, 1 pair horses, left Lieut. Bassett at Schoharry with 17 men to bring more wagons that were preparing, and arrived within 12 Miles to Alboney and Camped.†

June 18th Sunday.

Begun to March 6 o'Clock in the morning and took 8 Men with me and came to Alboney with the Wagons and Sent the Remainder of my Escort to Schonactady with Lieut Brown.

June 19th.‡

Came from Alboney to Schonactady after I delivered the pressed wagons and horses.

June 20th.

Marched from Schonactady 10 o'clock bound to Fort Edward and Delivered the Care of the City to Col. Bagley's Regiment who arrived here the 19th instant.§

June 21st.

Arrived at Half Moon which is 17 miles from Schonactady and proceeded toward Still Water.

June 22nd.

Continued on our March and arrived to Saratoga.

June 23rd.

This Day we arrived within 5 Miles to Fort Edward and Camped.

visited the country just below Canajoharie, in the neighborhood of Spraker's Basin.

He uses *pilot* instead of *guide*. Perhaps, because he was a sea-faring man.—I. B. C.

* I suspect that the name which is written "Rooman," in the Journal, should have been Vrooman or Vroman—a family name still to be met with, in that section.

This name is, also, associated with the features of the country. At Spraker's Basin, the valley of the Mohawk is narrowed down to a gorge. The bluff on the South is called "Anthony's Nose" and the opposite one, "Vroman's Nose" This was anciently called "Klip's Hill," and constitutes the southern-most spur of the Adirondacks.—I. B. C.

† It seems that they went direct to Albany, by a forced march, passing to the South of Schenectada. This day's march was a long one.—I. B. C.

‡ The Journal shows that the author executed his orders with the utmost dispatch. When we consider what must have been the condition of the roads, in the Mohawk Valley, at that early day, the distance marched is a matter of surprise.—I. B. C.

§ I think the care of the city had been in the hands of Major Berry. If so, he means that the entire command marched.

It seems strange that, at that early day, Schenectada should be called a city.—I. B. C.

June 24th.

We Arrived at Fort Edward 8 o'Clock in the Morning and dined with Col. Preble. Capt. Libbee's Company and mine joined the Regiment.

June 25th Sunday.

In the forenoon we were alarmed by the firing of several Small Arms in the Woods which was the English Light Infantry where by our Provincial troops mustered immediately and went out in order to Engage the Enemy. this Afternoon Col. Preble marched for Lake George with 500 Men, and Coll. Hoar is to March to morrow with the Remainder of the Regiment.

June 26th.

This Day Lieut. Coll. Hoar marched from Fort Edward to Lake George with my company and Captain Libbie's and arrived there at 7 o'Clock in the Afternoon, Rained Considerable, which is 16 Miles from Fort Edward to Lake George.

June 27th.

Obliged to live under the Air. Received no tents, and rained all day.

June 28th.

Worked on the King's Roads and building Breastwork. Came into Camp this Day 3000 Soldiers.

June 29th.

Nothing Remarkable. Troops both Regulars and Provincials Daily come into Camp.

June 30th.

A man in Coll. Daly's Regiment fired off his Gun accidentally and the Ball went thro' a man's Belly but is expected not mortally wounded. I was taken sick and obliged to keep my tent.

July 1st.

This Day our Chaplain the Rev. Mr. Cleveland, came to our Camp, who we received with a great deal of joy.* Our Numbers increase Continually.

July 2nd. Sunday

Employed this Day in Repairing Batteaux and loading them with Stores and provisions. I lay sick.

July 3rd.

Took allowance for 5 days for the Regiment and were Reviewed by our Major Gen'l and Lord Howe.† Rec^d Powder and Ball to compleat each man to 36 Rounds pr. man. I seem to be a little better.

* It is evident that the Chaplain of the Regiment did not accompany the Falmouth troops. It appears most likely he came with the Massachusetts men, under Colonel Hoar.—I. B. C.

† George Augustus, Lord Howe, was born 1724. He came to America, in command of five thousand British troops, which arrived at Halifax, July, 1757. His rank was that of Brigadier-general.—I. B. C.

July 4th.

Order from Major Gen'l Abercrombie to start out tomorrow morning to the French Fort called Ticontorogue* as soon as Day appears.

July 5th.

Embarked on Board our Batteaux and Wharves 15000 men and pressed down the Lake towards Ticontorogue and Rowed this Day about 30 Miles and land.

July 6th.

At 1 o'Clock in the Morning Embarked and came at 8 o'Clock and landed within 3 Miles of the Fort. The French guard ran at our appearance. Major Rogers Rangers came on with part of the French Guard, killed 7 of them lost 2 of our Men. In the afternoon engaged the French took 180 of them prisoners and killed 110 more. Lord Howe was killed in the Battle and about 60 of our Men Ammunition.

July 7th.

We marched from where we camped to the end of the Lake where it empties into Lake Champlain which is about one Mile from the Fort brought up 3 of our Brass Cannon and have up a Breast work for our fortification.

July 8th.

Marched on the Army and about 1 o'Clock in the afternoon the Battle began at the French lines and continued a constant firing on both sides until sunset at which time we retreated and retired into our breast work. Our loss killed and wounded and missing is two thousand men.†

Their number to ours is unknown to us. We had two of my company killed on the spot and four wounded.

July 9th Sunday.

Before day appeared we left our Breast work.

* This Fort was built by the French, in 1753, and called by them "Carillon" in allusion to the music of the waterfalls, near by.—I. B. C.

† The date of this attack and the account given of result agree perfectly with all other records of the event in stating that Lord Howe was killed on the sixth July, the journal differs from other records which make the date of his death the fifth—one day earlier. His death was deeply felt. In him, it was said, "the son of the army seemed to expire." The General Court of Massachusetts granted two hundred and fifty pounds a monument, which that Province caused to be erected in his memory, in Westminster Abbey. Upon his death his younger brother, Richard, succeeded to his title and dignities. In this year, 1753, Richard Howe, command of a small Squadron, was cruising along the coast of France. Eighteen years later, in the Summer of 1776, he appeared off Massachusetts, as Commander in chief of the British Fleet; and in the capacity of a Commissioner, to effect a reconciliation with the Province. After two years service, upon this coast, he resigned, and returned to England.

Another brother, William Howe, was at Quebec and Wolfe, in 1759, and succeeded General Gage, as Governor of Massachusetts, in 1775, and afterwards commanded British land-forces in New York and Pennsylvania. I. B. C.

which was at the end of the Lake and marched to our first place of landing and Received our Wounded on Board our Batteaux and Embarked about 10 o'Clock for Fort W^m. Henry which is 38 Miles North from thence to Ticonderoque with a fair wind and arrived at Lake George at Sun Sett.*

July 10th.

Encamped at Fort W^m. Henry and made a return of our number killed, wounded, and missing, sick and fit for duty and the Number is not Calculated thro'out the Camp as yet.

July 11th.

Nothing Remarkable.

July 12th.

Lay Encamped, kept several Guardsmen Detached for Working parties.

July 13th.

Mustered our Incampments.

July 14th.

Licut. Adams of York of Capⁿ Goin's Company Died of his Wound he received in the Battle on the 8th Instant.

July 15th.

Nothing worth notice this day but working and Duty came on harder by orders from Head Quarters.

July 16th Sunday.

This day I received a return of the killed wounded and Missing in the Battles fought on the 6th and 8th Instants.

* I quote from B. F. De Costa's *Notes on Lake George*, the following passage, bearing upon this retreat; "Led by the ill-starred Abercrombie, they" [*the English and Provincials*] "embarked on the Lake in beautiful order, from the docks, near the charred remains of Fort William Henry and, sixteen thousand strong, confidently moved to assault the French. But, after the display of a peerless valor, before the walls of Ticonderoga, on the seventh of July, the army was forced to retreat, in haste, to the South end of the Lake, leaving behind a large number of dead and wounded. On Sunday evening, the ninth of July, the troops landed at Fort William Henry, broken and disheartened."

"On his return to the head of the Lake, Abercrombie began to send cannon and ammunition to Albany, and, at the same time, occupied his troops in the construction of intrenchments, as stated by the French and other authorities; but the extent and character of these works do not appear to be known."

Mr. De Costa adds to this paragraph the following Note: "Aug. 1st, 1758. The French report that the English occupy two islands on the lake, in each of which they have a guard of four hundred men; that Capt. Rogers is out every day, scouting, sometimes North, at other times, South; that they have intrenched themselves with trees; that there isn't any cannon in their intrenchments, but in the little fort."—*Colonial Documents*, x., 350.—The French commander also says that the English were intending to amuse us only by seizing the islands in Lake St. Sacrament," [*Lake George*]. The thor asks, "Where was the 'little fort'?"

"Montcalm says, in a memoir on the situation: 'The enemy will remain in force at Chocomaug until Winter; in eight days they will have constructed there, as at the head of Lake St. Sacrament, an intrenchment impregnable to an assault of five thousand men, of whatever description.'—[*Ibid.* 871.]—Possibly one of the places fortified at this time was Recluse Island, where there are still to be seen the remains of earthworks."—I. B. C.

Prov'ls Killed, Missing and Wounded	422
Regulars " " "	1522

Total, Regulars and Prov'ls 1944*

July 17th.

Mustered our Incampment changed our Ground order to Incamp on the South Side of the Swamp. Buried Joseph Hilton of my Company.

July 18th.

Began to thro' up a Breast Work round our whole Encampment. every Reg^t Regular and Prov'l. ordered from the Gen'l to build their proportion in the front of their parade. Thundered in the afternoon.

July 19th.

Began to work on a Sloop to Draft and Mould her.†

July 20th.

Began to cutt Timber for the Sloop, this day a party of Canadian Indians waylaid the Road near half-way Brook which is half way between Lake George and fort Edward. they fired on an Escort of our Men Consisting of 10 in number, killed 9 of them. Col. Nichols Scouted out of half-way Brook piquet with a party of men and had 3 Cap^{ns} 2 Sub^s and a Number of Rand: F. killed and wounded.

July 21st.

Cutting Timber for the Sloop.

July 22nd.

Cutting Timber for the Sloop and fitting the same.

July 23rd Sunday.

I would not work although the Chief part of the Cap^{ns} Wrought and the Chief parts that contrived to have the most Business done on that which work may be avoided on the Lord's Day.

July 24th.

Worked on the Sloop. Nothing Remarkable.

July 25th.

There was one Regular of the 44th Reg^{ts} hanged for stealing 3 old Buckels from Men out of my Company. 2 Regulars received 1000 Lashes each for Stealing. I worked on the Sloop.

* As is usual, in all accounts of unsuccessful battles, historians rarely give the exact number of the killed and wounded. In this case, the number of lost is commonly estimated at about two thousand. We have here the exact number, both of Provincials and Regulars.—I. B. C.

† The duty to which our author was assigned, goes to confirm the inference we drew from a former entry, that he was familiar with nautical affairs, since he appeared familiar with nautical phrases. It is likely that he was a ship-wright, as Falmouth was, at that early day, engaged in ship-building. Perhaps it was because of their acquaintance with this art, that Abercrombie retained the Falmouth troops to work upon his fleet, while he despatched most of the Massachusetts men, under Colonel Bradstreet, to Lake Ontario, for the seizure of Fort Frontenac.—I. B. C.

July 26th.

Wrought on the Sloop. Nothing Remarkable to Insert.

July 27th.

Raised the Sloop. the Indians waylaid the Road between fort Edward and half way Brook and they killed and took about 80 of our Men and Women, and destroyed about 80 Teams, Oxen and Loading.

July 28th.

Worked on the Sloop but nothing Remarkable this Day.

July 29th.

Wrought on the Sloop. Came account into Camp in the Night the french and Indians was coming up the Lake in Batteaux. Discovered which happened to be an Alarm which was not Certain.

July 30th Sunday.

Worked on the Sloop. Before day appeared came orders to the Regiment to parade a Number of men, and send them to General Lymon's parade which was performed Immediately and he sett out with about 2 thousand men Including Officers at 6 o'Clock in the Morning to go down the Lake.

July 31st.

Wrought on the Sloop. there Came acct into Camp there was seen at half way Brook 300 Indians and Came Orders to the Regiment to send their proportion of men. the Escort Consisted of 500 Prov'l troops to take 3 days provision and their tents and march at 6 o'Clock with 300 Regulars.

Aug. 1st.

Worked on the Sloop. 300 Regulars 500 prov'l troops marched at 6 o'Clock this morning to half way brook which is the party Ordered Yesterday.

Aug 2nd.

Wrought on the Sloop. Nothing Remarkable.

Aug. 3rd.

Worked on the Sloop. Nothing Remarkable.

Aug. 4th.

Wrought on the Sloop. Nothing Material.

Aug. 5th.

Worked on the Sloop. Several Wagons' Load of Pork and Beef thrown into the Lake with flour, condemned provisions.

Aug. 6th Sunday.

Worked on the Sloop. by the General's orders the Work is not to be Stopt on any Day, although I told the Commodore Cap'n Loring who is the Chief Overseer of all the Works that I would engage to Launch her as soon as possible.

Aug. 7th.

Worked on the Sloop. but hardly able to ap-

pear abroad this afternoon. I have not on day's perfect health since I came to the Lake which I take to be the Cause of the Unwholesomeness of the Air. the place seems to be full of Uncleaness. Nothing further Remarkable this Day. A Regular of Lord Howe's Regt was Drowned. Could not Swim.

Aug. 8th.

Wrought on the Sloop. Nothing Remarkable this Day.

Aug. 9th.

Worked on the Sloop. Rainy this afternoon and Received Information that Major Rogers has had an Engagement with 15 hundred french and Indians at South Bay, he being out with 7 hundred Men and a party of Prov'l troops. Lient. Jacob Brown and 5 Private out of my Company out with the party.

Aug. 10th.

Launched the Sloop. Came Orders this Night to parade the whole Army and Ordered the Army Should line the Breast work opposite to each Reg't Incampment by 6 o'Clock in the morning, and the Batteaux Men and Carpenter to be drawn up by the Batteaux at the Lake by Cap'n Loring.

Aug. 11th.

Drew up our Companies to the Breast Work and were Reviewed by the Generals and when viewed orders Came to me to muster my Carpenters and go to work on the Sloop.

Aug. 12th.

Nothing Remarkable. Worked on the Sloop. Sent home the french flag of truce that came into our Camp.†

Aug. 14th.

Worked on the Sloop. very Cold Weather this 3 days past. this morning 8 hund'd Men Sent to the South Bay. there was a Regular of the 46th Reg't Drowned Swiming who was a Corporal.

Aug. 15th.

Worked on the Sloop. there came a flagg of Truce last Night and Sent out of Camp this Morning. this is the third flagg that came in from Ticontorocque.‡ Rained this afternoon.

Aug. 16th and 17th.

Nothing Remarkable those two days past but employed fitting the Sloop.

Aug. 18th and 19th.

Worked on the Sloop two days past Nothing Worth Inserting.

* This is the Major Rogers mentioned in *Colonial Documents*, x., 850; but the number of his men is not given there. We find, here, the basis of a fair estimate.—I. B. C.

† The flag of truce, perhaps, had connection with the engagement mentioned on the ninth.—I. B. C.

‡ These frequent visits of the French, under flags show how Montcalm acquired his knowledge of affairs upon the Lake.—I. B. C.

Aug. 20th Sabbath Day.

Wrought on the Sloop. this day 2 disasters brought into Camp from the french at Tyrantaroque and inform us there is 1500 french on guard at their Saw Mill at the end of the Lake. we are informed Cape Brittain is taken which is good news to us.* we are confined to Camp and is in no likeliness to do Service at present.

Aug. 21st.

A Regular Rec^d 1000 Lashes for Stealing. I worked all day on the Sloop.

Aug. 22nd.

I worked on the Sloop and went down the lake 12 Miles to gett Oars and worked on the Sloop.

Aug. 23rd.

I with 10 Carpenters and a Guard of Regulars an Officer and 30 men went in the Woods to Cutt Cricket Timber for a Row Gally of 40 feet long 15 feet wide 5 feet deep to Carry 12 pounders in the Stern and 5 Swivels on a Side to go with 24 Oars.

Aug. 24th.

Making Oars for the Sloop. the guard att half way Brook Relieved 300 Reg^{ts} 500 Provin^{ls} troops to guard on Dimond Island† and Relieved.

Aug. 25th.

This day I worked in the Woods getting Timber for the Roe Gally and boats.

Aug. 26th.

This Day I worked on the Row gally 4 of the light Infantry Condemned to be hanged for Disarming this morning @ 9 o'Clock but to their great joy Maj^r Gen^l Abercrombie Sent them a Reprive which came to them at the foot of the Gallows while the Minister was to prayer with them. Rained this Afternoon.

Aug. 27th Sunday.

I did not work this day. went to Meeting Mr. Cleveland two Sermons from 146 psalm and 5 Verses.

Aug. 28th.

I wrought building the Row Gally and Received a Confirmation of Cape Brittain being taken † and Rec^d Order from our Major General for the Artillery to fire 3 Rounds and Regulars and provin^{ls} to Man the Breastwork and fire 3 Rounds p^r man. we were ordered to hear pray-ers at 5 o'Clock and to fire the Rejoycing fire at 6 o'Clock which was performed in a most Reg-

ular manner. Col. Preble Invited the Officers of his Reg^t to his house after the firing was ended and gave them a Handsome Treat. Rained all Night.

Aug. 29th and 30th.

Worked on the Row Gally and Boats two days above. Nothing Remarkable.

Aug. 31st.

Worked on the Boats. A Disaster came into Camp this Day. the Sloop goes Down the Lake tomorrow. I dined with Col. Preble.

September 1st Fryday.

Worked on the Boats. the Sloop is Detained from Going Down the Lake today as Ordered Yesterday.

Sept. 2nd.

The Sloop is gone Down the Lake today and Scouts to be made of 700 Men.

Sept. 3rd Sunday.

I did not work this day. there Came in a french flagg of Truce last Night and was sent out of Camp before Day. they say there is 100 Boats in the Lake and that they Built a Sloop, and are coming down the River to us at fort William Henry and had a great Shower in the Afternoon 3 or 4 hundred men to Trenching and throwing up Breast work to Secure our Selves.

Sept. 4th.

the Army to work on the piquett and Breast work and I on command as formerly to work on the Boats.

Sept. 5th.

This day I dined with Col. Preble. Worked on the Boats. Nothing Material.

Sept. 6th.

I wrought on the Boats. Last Night came into Camp 3 Regular Officers from Cape Britton and 3 Mohawk Indians from Gen^l Johnson's* to Maj^r Gen^l Abercrombie and brought Intelligence that Johnson has taken a small fort and killed Some Indians, and taken 600 french.

Sept. 7th and 8th.

Worked on the Boats. Nothing Remarkable the two foregoing days.

Sept. 9th.

Worked on the Boats and Launched a boat 36 feet long, 9 feet Wide, 3 feet 3 inches deep. there was a man of Capⁿ Osgood's Company in Col. Preble's Reg^t condemned to Receive 40 Lashes for firing off his gun, and was brought to the post and Striped. Col. Preble being present acquitted him of the Crime.

Sept. 10th Sunday.

Wrought on the Boats. came Intelligence

* This refers to the capture of Louisburg, on the Island of Cape Breton. The town was taken on the twenty-sixth of July: and the French, at Ticonderoga, were probably apprised of its fall, by way of Quebec and Montreal.—I. B. C.

† Diamond-island may be one of the islands fortified by the English, as Mr. De Costa supposes Recluse-island may have been.—I. B. C.

‡ This report of the fall of Louisburg was, doubtless, brought by way of New York, and came one week later

* The three Mohawk Indians were, perhaps, runners from Fort Frontenac, as that was captured the latter part of August. If it was news of the fall of Frontenac which they reported, the number of French captured was overstated. I believe the French garrison was only one

Yesterday Gen'l Johnson has taken Catarocaway otherwise fountenack. Col. Bradstreet assisting him, this day the Indians killed one Man and Captivated another. Near half-way Brook Corporal John Harris of my Company Buried this Day. The Rev. Mr. Mason preached to us being an Auditory of 3 Regts viz. Col. Preble's Regiment, Colonel Whittings, Col. Nichols, from Collossians 3 ch. 3 verse, the Rev. Mr. Oggobee, Church Minister preached in the afternoon from the 113 psalm 5 and 6 v. which was a most Excellent Sermon. Pray God give us hearts to practise what we heard from them.

Sept 11th.

Worked on the Boats. at noon this day Wee had a Rejoicing for the Reduction of fountenack by Col. Bradstreet. Wee fired 102 Cannons and 3 Round per. man Lining the Breast work. Had Bone fires on the tops of the Mountains Capitulated with the french Commander in the fort which consisted of 150 french and Indians.

Sept 12th and 13th.

I worked on the Boats and on the 13th Instant Major Berry appointed to go to the Grand Rounds, and being not in perfect health appointed me for that Duty.

Sept. 14th.

I wrought on the Boats and gott a very bad Cold. on the 15th Instant Benj. Welsh soldier in my Company and Inhabitant of North Yarmouth Deceased who worked on the 14th Instant.

Sept. 16th.

I worked getting timber for my house. Nothing Remarkable.

Sept. 17th Sunday.

I would not work.* The Chaplain of General Lyman's Reg't preached a Sermon to Col. Prible's and Col. Whiting's Regiments in the forenoon from 21 Ch. of Numbers 8 and 9 Verses, and this afternoon Mr. Oggleebee, Church Minister preached from acts 24 ch. 25 verse.

Sept. 18th.

Began to work for Captain and who Commands the train on a Boat called the Raddow, and on the 19th Instant worked on the s^d Raddow, and the 20th Inst. worked likewise. Nothing Remarkable the three foregoing Days.

Sept. 21st, 22nd and 23rd.

the three foregoing Days I wrought on the Raddow and heard Nothing Remarkable, but

on the 23rd Instant were Informed the Indians were near Half-way Brook.

Sept. 24th Sunday.

The Rev. Mr. Cleveland preached 2 Sermons to us. Maj. Rogers went down the Lake with 150 Men. the Sloop went down the lake to try how near she could go to Tycontoroque.

Sept. 25th.

Wrought on the Raddow. Nothing Remarkable.

Sept. 26th.

I worked building the Raddow. Last Night came into Camp a french Disaster who Informs there is a french Scout at the South bay, on which Intelligence we sent out a Scout of Rangers, and the Disaster as a pilate.

Sept. 27th, 28th, 29th and 30th.

those four Days past I was Constantly Employed in Building the Raddow and on the 29th Instant there was a french prisoner brought into our Camp.

October 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th.

On the first Instant I dined with Capt. Ord, on the second Rained. Worked on the Raddow the days dated above.

Oct. 6th.

This afternoon Gen'l Amhast came into our Camp in the night.* I wrought all day on the Raddow.

Oct. 7th.

Gen'l Amhast Viewed the troops and Departed our Camp. I worked on the Raddow all Day.

Oct. 8th Sabbath Day.

I did not work. Dined with Cap^a Ord and a Number of Regular Officers and was taken with the Bloody flux.

Oct. 9th and 10th.

On the Ninth as above I wrought on the Raddow, and on the tenth following and in the forenoon about 10 o'Clock 2 of Cap^a Goings's Company one a private and Other a Corporal Whipt. the Crime was forging an Order on the Suttler. the private Wrote the order and the Corporal signed the Cap^as Name. the Crime was Notorious and both brought in Guilty by the Court Martial. the Corporal Rec^d 65 Lashes and the Sintinal 30 Lashes. Rained hard in the afternoon.

Oct. 11th, 12th, and 13th.

The Days Dated above I wrought on the Raddow. on the eleventh came in a french Desaster.

* It will be remembered that the author very reluctantly obeyed the order to work on the Sabbath, when it was first given. Perhaps he this day neglected to work, because he foresaw that the boats would never be of service to the English, on the Lake; and, so, no longer regarded the work as necessary.—I. B. C.

* I conclude that this brief visit of General Amherst resulted in the change of plan immediately adopted. Up to this time, the army had been engaged upon works of defence, to enable them to hold their position upon the Lake, and in building boats for a future attack upon Ticonderoga. From this date, we find them removing to Fort Edward, as if abandoning the work, for this year.—I. B. C.

Oct. 14th.

Rained in the forenoon. John Hammon, Inhabitant of North Yarmouth, Soldier under my Command Deceased.

Oct. 15th.

I remaining Sick with the flux could not work. Mr. Ladd the post came in this Day. Capⁿ Ord Invited me to dine with him I being so ill Could not go and Desired to be Excused.

Oct. 16th.

there Came into Camp 120 Teams and Wagons, Some 4 Cattle and some 6 Cattle to each Team.* I being sick Could not work.

Oct. 17th.

The Teams are Carrying the Artillery to Fort Edward with the Artillery Stores. Rainy in the Afternoon. I dined with Colonel Preble today and tho' ill is Obligated to Work.

Oct. 18th.

I remaining sick could not work, tho' commanded. heard of the Death of Capⁿ Moody of Brunswick. the Team come into Camp to haul our Battoes and Warlike Stores to Fort Edward. 150 Wagons Loaded with Battoes to Fort Edward this Day.

Oct. 19th and 20th.

I am a little Better. they are Daily Carrying off the Batteaux and Baggage. the last Date above we launched 2 Raddows, the first is the following Dimintions.

1 st { 50 feet long	{ 2 nd 30 feet in Length
{ 19 " Wide	{ 7 " Wide
{ 6 " Deep	{ 3½ " Deep.

Oct. 21st.

We tryd the Raddows and Rowed well. they went with 26 Oars and I had the Commendation to Row as well as any. we never had allowance of Bread but all flour only once since we came to the lake.

Oct. 22nd Sunday.

Working on the Raddows sinking them in the lake.

Oct. 23rd.

Orders Came at Night on the twenty Second Instant to march from the Lake (that is) Col. Preble's Reg^t Col. Williams' and Col. Nickols'. left our in Camp^{mt} @ 10 o'clock in the fore noon. brought off our Baggage and Sick and Arrived that Night within 3 Miles of fort Edward and Camped in the Woods.

* Mr. De Costa says: "On his return to the head of the Lake, Abercrombie began to send cannon and ammunition to Albany." From the entry above, we learn that more than three months elapsed before the removal began. In the meantime, preparations were being made for offensive operations. It is likely these preparations were more extensive than have hitherto been supposed.—I. B. C.

Oct. 24th.

Marched from our Incampment and Came to fort Miller and Camped this Night. Serj^t Maj. John Williams of my Company and Eliab Pendexter Deceased.

Oct. 25th.

Buried my men and one belonging to Capⁿ Osgood's men and Marched to Still Water and Camped.

Oct. 26th

March from Still Water towards half Moon, and my Servant Boy Benj. Swett being not well and I remaining bad with the bloody flux Arrived to Half Moon Lodged in a Barn.

Oct. 27th Half Moon.

Arrived at Green Bush and Crossed the River to Albany where I lodged in a Bedd.

Oct. 28th.

this Day I returned in the King's Arms of part of my Company and Lodges in Albany this Night.

Oct. 29th Sabbath-day.

Settled my Affairs with my Colonel in Albany and marched from Green Bush att 2 o'clock in the Afternoon 5 Miles and Camped in the Woods.

Oct. 30th.

Marched from our Camp in the Woods to the Mills which is 3 Miles and from thence 15 Miles to Canterbrook* and Camped. Marched this Day 18 Miles.

Oct. 31st.

Marched from our Incampment and came to Mr. Pouels 15 Miles.

Nov. 1st.

Marched from Mr. Pouels to Mr. Robertson's where we gott some Subsistance on the Country's Cost and travailed 10 Miles. Came to Shirefield.

Nov. 2nd.

Marched from Mr. Robertson's which is 5 Miles to Mr. Bragett's where we gott Breakfast and Marched thro' Shirefield to No. 1. travailed 16 Miles this Day.

Nov. 3rd.

Marched from Mr. Hure's thro' the Green Woods to Mr. Rutes which is 20 Miles to Glasgo.

Nov. 4th.

Travailed from Glasgo to Wooster which is a Considerable Town. dined there and Came to Springfield which is 18 Miles a Considerable Town.

Nov. 5th Sunday.

Marched from our Lodgings, travailed thro Springfield and arrived to Brimfield which is 16 Miles. Came over Connecticut River in Springfield, and Lodged in a bed. Rained all Day.

* Canterhook will be recognized as the modern Kinderhook.—I. B. C.

Nov. 6th.

Marched from a Corner of Brimfield to part of Palmer and Breakfasted and traivailed thro' part of Brimfield to Woster from thence to Brookfield where we dined at Mr. Nichols and traivailed from thence to Cap^a Wickott's 25 Miles and Lodged in a Bed.

Nov. 7th.

Travailed from Cap^a Wickott's to Spencer and from thence to Leister and from Leister to Woster where we Lodged in a Bed. 17 Miles. Rained all Day.

Nov. 8th.

Travailed thro' Woster, Susbrig, Wostbrue, Marlborough, Sudbury, which is 24 Miles.

Nov. 9th.

Marched from Sudbury to West town and thro' Whaletown, and thro' Wortertown and Cambridge, Roxbury. Arrived to Boston, Lodged @ Cap^a Hatches.* traivailed this Day 21 Miles.

Nov. 10th.

Stayed in Boston and Lodged @ Cap^a Hatches.

Nov. 11th.

Set Sail from Boston for Casco Bay. gott off against Marblehead. Wind coming to the North putt back to Boston.

Nov. 12th.

I lodged in Boston and went to Meeting in the Afternoon. Came to Sail at Night for Casco Bay. off Cape pand† the Wind at North, putt back to Marblehead.

Nov. 13th.

Stayed in Marblehead and Lodged at Major Reed's.

Nov. 14th.

Came to Sail 3 o'Clock in the afternoon with a fair wind. arrived at Casco Bay on the fifteenth Instant where I found.‡

VII.—DULUTH, MINNESOTA.

SPEECH OF MR. KNOTT OF KENTUCKY, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES.

[During a recent debate, in Congress, on a Bill granting certain public lands to a Railroad Company, organized for the purpose of building a Railroad between Bayfield, on Lake Superior, and the St. Croix-river, the monotony of the discussion was suddenly broken by the following outburst of irony from an honorable member from Kentucky, Mr. Knott. As it relates to a region of country and to a city which, some day, may fill a greater measure of fame than they now enjoy, and so may become interesting, hereafter, we copy it.—EDITH.]

MR. SPEAKER :

If I could be actuated by any conceivable inducement to betray the sacred trust reposed in

me by those to whose generous confidence I am indebted for the honor of a seat on this floor—if I could be influenced by any possible consideration to become instrumental in giving away, in violation of their known wishes, any portion of their interests in the public domain for the mere promotion of any railroad enterprise whatever—I should certainly feel a strong inclination to give this measure my most earnest and hearty support; for I am assured that its success would materially enhance the pecuniary prosperity of some of the most valued friends I have on earth—friends for whose accommodation I would be willing to make almost any sacrifice not involving my personal honor or my fidelity as the trustee of an express trust. And that fact of itself would be sufficient to countervail almost any objection I might entertain to the passage of this Bill, not inspired by an imperative and inexorable sense of public duty.

But, independent of the seductive influences of private friendship, to which I admit I am, perhaps, as susceptible as any of the gentlemen I see around me, the intrinsic merits of the measure itself are of such an extraordinary character as to commend it most strongly to the favorable consideration of every member of this House, myself not excepted, notwithstanding my constituents, in whose behalf alone I am acting here, would not be benefited by its passage one particle more than they would be by a project to cultivate an orange-grove on the bleakest summit of "Greenland's icy mountains." [Laughter].

Now, Sir, as to those great trunk lines of railway, spanning the Continent from ocean to ocean, I confess my mind has never been fully made up. It is true they may afford some trifling advantages to local traffic; and they may even, in time, become the channels of a more extended commerce. Yet I have never been thoroughly satisfied either of the necessity or expediency of projects promising such meager results to the great body of our people. But with regard to the transcendent merits of the gigantic enterprise contemplated in this Bill I never entertained the shadow of a doubt. [Laughter.]

Years ago, when I first heard that there was, somewhere in the vast *terra incognita*—somewhere in the bleak regions of the Northwest—a stream of water known to the nomadic inhabitants of the neighborhood as the river St. Croix, I became satisfied that the construction of a

what worn, and the last entry could not be fully made out. I have transcribed it, throughout, with strict adherence to the original form, retaining the quaint diction and spelling of the period to which it belongs. It is evidently the work of a well-educated man who enjoyed good opportunities for observation, and who has honestly stated, in these pages, matters of interest which came to his knowledge.—I. B. C.

* In the family of Rev. E. W. Jackson, from whom I had the original journal, there is a tradition that the author's name was Hatch. If so, the Captain Hatch of Boston, whose guest he became, was, probably, a relative. This is the only clue I can give to his identity.—I. B. C.

† Cape pand.—This spelling corresponds, perfectly, with the pronunciation of Cape Ann, as one hears the name spoken by old residents of the Cape.—I. B. C.

‡ The original, though carefully preserved, was some-

railroad from that raging torrent to some point in the civilized world was essential to the happiness and prosperity of the American people, if not absolutely indispensable to the perpetuity of republican institutions on this Continent. [*Great laughter.*] I felt instinctively that the boundless resources of that prolific region of sand and pine-shrubbery would never be fully developed without a railroad, constructed and equipped at the expense of the Government, and, perhaps, not then. [*Laughter.*] I had an abiding presentiment that, some day or other, the people of this whole country, irrespective of party affiliations, regardless of sectional prejudices, and "without distinction of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," would rise in their majesty, and demand an outlet for the enormous agricultural productions of those vast and fertile pine-barrens, drained in the rainy season by the surging waters of the turbid St. Croix. [*Great laughter.*]

These impressions, derived simply and solely from the "eternal fitness of things," were not only strengthened by the interesting and eloquent debates on this Bill, to which I listened with so much pleasure, the other day, but intensified, if possible, as I read over, this morning, the lively colloquy which took place on that occasion. I will ask the indulgence of the House while I read a few short passages, which are sufficient, in my judgment, to place the merits of the great enterprise contemplated in the measure now under discussion beyond all possible controversy.

The honorable gentleman from Minnesota [*Mr. Wilson*], who, I believe, is managing this Bill, in speaking of the character of the country through which the railroad is to pass, says this :

"We want to have the timber brought to us as cheaply as possible. Now, if you tie up the lands, in this way, so that no title can be obtained to them—for no settler will go on these lands, for he cannot make a living—you deprive us of the benefit of that timber."

Now, Sir, I would not have it by any means inferred from this that the gentleman from Minnesota would insinuate that the people out in his section desire this timber merely for the purpose of fencing up their farms, so that their stock may not wander off and die of starvation among the bleak hills of the St. Croix. [*Laughter.*] I read it for no such purpose, Sir, and make no such comment on it, myself. In corroboration of this statement of the gentleman from Minnesota, I find this testimony given by the honorable gentleman from Wisconsin, [*Mr. Washburne.*] Speaking of these same lands he says :

"Under the Bill, as amended by my friend from Minnesota, nine tenths of the land is

"open to actual settlers at \$2.50 per acre ; the remaining one-tenth is pine-timbered land ; that is not fit for settlement, and never will be settled upon ; but the timber will be cut off. I admit that it is the most valuable portion of the Grant, for most of the Grant is not valuable. It is quite valueless ; and if you put in this amendment of the gentleman from Indiana, you may as well just kill the Bill ; for no man and no Company will take the Grant and build the road."

I simply pause here to ask some gentleman better versed in the science of mathematics than I am, to tell me, if the timbered lands are, in fact, the most valuable portion of that section of country, and if they would be entirely valueless without the timber that is on them, what the remainder of the land is worth, which has no timber on it, at all ? [*Laughter.*]

But, further on, I find a most entertaining and instructive interchange of views between the gentleman from Arkansas, [*Mr. Rogers*] the gentleman from Wisconsin, [*Mr. Washburne*] and the gentleman from Maine, [*Mr. Peters*] upon the subject of public lands. generally, which I will tax the patience of the House to read :

"*Mr. Rogers*—'Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?'

"*Mr. Washburne of Wisconsin*—'Certainly.'

"*Mr. Rogers*—'Are these pine-lands entirely worthless, except for timber?'

"*Mr. Washburne, of Wisconsin*—'They are generally worthless for any other purpose. I am personally familiar with that subject. These lands are not valuable for purposes of settlement.'

"*Mr. Farnsworth*—'They will be, after the timber is taken off.'

"*Mr. Washburne, of Wisconsin*—'No, Sir.'

"*Mr. Rogers*—'I want to know the character of these pine-lands.'

"*Mr. Washburne, of Wisconsin*—'They are, generally, sandy, barren lands. My friend from the Green Bay District [*Mr. Sawyer*] is, himself, perfectly familiar with this question ; and he will bear me out in what I say, that these pine timber-lands are not adapted to settlement.'

"*Mr. Rogers*—'The pine-lands to which I am accustomed are generally very good. What I want to know is, what is the difference between our pine-lands and your pine-lands.'

"*Mr. Washburne, of Wisconsin*—'The pine timber of Wisconsin generally grows upon barren, sandy land. The gentleman from Maine, [*Mr. Peters*] who is familiar with pine-lands, will, I have no doubt, say that pine timber grows generally upon the most barren lands.'

"Mr. Peters—"As a general thing pine-lands "are not worth much for cultivation."

And, further on, I find this pregnant question, the joint production of the two gentlemen from Wisconsin:

"Mr. Paine—"Does my friend from Indiana "suppose that, in any event, settlers will occupy and cultivate those pine-lands?"

"Mr. Washburne, of Wisconsin—"Particularly without a railroad."

It will be asked, after a while, I am afraid, if settlers will go anywhere unless the Government builds a railroad for them to go on. [*Laughter.*]

I desire to call attention to only one more statement, which I think sufficient to settle the question. It is one made by the gentleman from Wisconsin, [Mr. Paine] who says:

"These lands will be abandoned, for the present. It may be, at some remote period, there will spring up in that region a new kind of agriculture which will cause a demand for these particular lands; and they may then come into use and be valuable for agricultural purposes. But I know and cannot help thinking that my friend from Indiana understands, that, for the present, and for many years to come, these pine-lands can have no possible value other than that arising from the pine-timber which stands on them."

Now Sir, who, after listening to this emphatic and unequivocal testimony of these intelligent, competent, and able-bodied witnesses, [*Laughter.*] who that is not as incredulous as St. Thomas himself, will doubt, for a moment, the Goshen of America is to be found in the sandy valleys and upon the pine-clad hills of the St. Croix? [*Laughter.*] Who will have the hardihood to rise in his seat, on this floor, and assert that, excepting the pine-bushes, the entire region would not produce vegetation enough, in ten years, to fatten a grasshopper? [*Great laughter.*] Where is the patriot who is willing that his country shall incur the peril of remaining another day, without the amplest railroad connection with such an inexhaustible mine of agricultural wealth? [*Laughter.*] Who will answer for the consequences of abandoning a great and warlike people, in possession of a country like that, to brood over the indifference and neglect of their Government? [*Laughter.*] How long would it be before they would take to studying the *Declaration of Independence* and hatching out the damnable heresy of secession? How long before the grim demon of civil discord would rear again his horrid head in our midst; "gnash loud his iron fangs; and shake his crest of bristling bayonets?" [*Laughter.*]

Then, Sir, think of the long and painful pro-

cess of reconstruction that must follow, with its concomitant Amendments to the Constitution: the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Articles. The Sixteenth, it is, of course, understood, is to be appropriated to those blushing damsels who are, day after day, beseeching us to let them vote, hold office, drink cocktails, ride astraddle, and do everything else the men do. [*Roars of laughter.*] But above all, Sir, let me implore you to reflect, for a moment, on the deplorable condition of our country, in case of a foreign war; with all our ports blockaded; all our cities in a state of siege; the gaunt specter of famine brooding, like a hungry vulture, over our starving land; our Commissary-stores all exhausted, and our furnishing armies withering away in the field, a helpless prey to the insatiate demon of hunger; our Navy rotting in the docks, for want of provisions for our gallant seamen; and we without any railroad communication whatever with the prolific pine-thickets of St. Croix. [*Great laughter.*]

Ah, Sir, I could very well understand why my amiable friends from Pennsylvania [Mr. Myers, Mr. Kelley and Mr. O'Neill] should be so earnest in their support of this Bill, the other day; and if their honorable colleague, my friend, Mr. Randall, will pardon the remark, I will say I considered his criticism of their action, on that occasion, as not only unjust but ungenerous. I knew they were looking forward with the far-reaching ken of enlightened statesmanship to the pitiable condition in which Philadelphia will be left, unless speedily supplied with railroad connection in some way or other with the garden-spot of the universe. [*Laughter.*] And besides, Sir, the discussion has relieved my mind of a mystery that has weighed upon it, like an incubus, for years. I could never understand, before, why there was so much excitement, during the last Congress, over the acquisition of Alta Vela. I could never understand why it was that some of our ablest statesmen and most disinterested patriots should entertain such dark foreboding of the untold calamities that were to befall our beloved country, unless we should take immediate possession of that desirable Island. But I see, now, that they were laboring under the mistaken impression that the Government would need the guano to manure the public lands on the St. Croix. [*Great laughter.*]

Now, Sir, I repeat I have been satisfied, for years, that if there was any portion of the inhabited globe absolutely in a suffering condition for want of a railroad, it was these teeming pine-barrens of the St. Croix. [*Laughter.*] At what particular point, on that noble stream, such a road should be commenced, I knew was immaterial; and it seems to have been so considered by the draughtsman of this

Bill. It might be up at the spring or down at the foot-log, or the water-gate, or the fish-dam, or anywhere along the banks, no matter where. [*Laughter.*] But in what direction it should run or where it should terminate were always, to my mind, questions of the most painful perplexity. I could conceive of no place on "God's green earth," in such straitened circumstances of railroad facilities as to be likely to desire or willing to accept such a connection. [*Laughter.*] I knew that neither Bayfield nor Superior-city would have it; for they both indignantly spurned the munificence of the Government, when coupled with such ignominious conditions, and let this very same land-grant die on their hands, years and years ago, rather than submit to the degradation of a direct communication by railroad with the piny woods of the St. Croix; and I knew that what the enterprising inhabitants of those giant young cities would refuse to take would have few charms for others, whatever their necessities or cupidity might be. [*Laughter.*]

Hence, as I have said, Sir, I was utterly at a loss to determine where the terminus of this great and indispensable road should be, until I accidentally overheard some gentleman, the other day, mention the name of "DULUTH." [*Great Laughter.*]

"Duluth!" The word fell upon my ear with a peculiar and indescribable charm, like the gentle murmur of a low fountain stealing forth in the midst of roses, or the soft, sweet accents of an angel's whisper, in the bright, joyous dream of sleeping innocence. "Duluth!" 'Twas the name for which my soul had panted, for years, "as the hart panteth for the water-brooks!" [*Renewed laughter.*] But where was Duluth? Never, in all my limited reading, had my vision been gladdened by seeing the celestial word in print; [*Laughter*] and I felt a profounder humiliation in my ignorance that its dulcet syllables had never before ravished my delighted ear. [*Roars of Laughter.*] I was certain the draughtsman of this Bill had never heard of it, or it would have been designated as one of the termini of this road. I asked my friends about it; but they knew nothing of it. I rushed to the library and examined all the maps I could find. [*Laughter.*] I discovered in one of them a delicate, hair-like line, diverging from the Mississippi, near a place marked Prescott, which I supposed was intended to represent the river St. Croix; but I could nowhere find Duluth! Nevertheless, I was confident it existed somewhere; and that its discovery would constitute the crowning glory of the present century, if not of all modern times. [*Laughter.*] I knew it was bound to exist in the very nature of

things; that the symmetry and perfection of our planetary system would be incomplete without it [*Renewed laughter*; that the elements of material nature would long since have resolved themselves back into original chaos, if there had been such a hiatus in creation as would have resulted from leaving out Duluth. [*Roars of laughter.*] In fact, Sir, I was overwhelmed with the conviction that Duluth not only existed, somewhere; but that, wherever it was, it was a great and glorious place. I was convinced that the greatest calamity that ever befell the benighted nations of the ancient world was in their having passed away without a knowledge of the actual existence of Duluth; that their fabled Atlantis, never seen, save by the hallowed vision of inspired poesy, was, in fact, but another name for Duluth; that the golden orchard of the Hesperides was but a poetical synonym for the beer-gardens, in the vicinity of Duluth. [*Great laughter.*] I was certain that Herodotus had died a miserable death because, in all his travels and with all his geographical research, he had never heard of Duluth. [*Laughter.*] I knew that if the immortal spirit of Homer could look down from another heaven than that created by his own celestial genius, upon the long lines of pilgrims, from every nation of the earth to the gushing fountain of poesy, opened by the touch of his magic wand—if he could be permitted to behold the vast assemblage of grand and glorious productions of the lyric art, called into being by his own inspired strains—he would weep tears of bitter anguish that, instead of lavishing all the stores of his mighty genius upon the fall of Ilium, it had not been his more blessed lot to crystalize, in deathless song, the rising glories of Duluth. [*Great and continued laughter.*] Yet, Sir, had it not been for this map, kindly furnished me by the Legislature of Minnesota, I might have gone down to my obscure and humble grave, in an agony of despair, because I could nowhere find Duluth. [*Renewed laughter.*] Had such been my melancholy fate, I have no doubt that, with the last feeble pulsation of my breaking heart—with the last faint exhalation of my fleeting breath—I should have whispered, "Where is 'Duluth?'" [*Roars of laughter.*] But, thanks be to the beneficence of that band of ministering angels who have their bright abodes in the far-off Capital of Minnesota, just as the agony of my anxiety was about to culminate in the frenzy of despair, this blessed map was placed in my hands; and, as I unfolded it, a resplendent scene of ineffable glory opened before me, such as I imagine burst upon the enraptured vision of the wandering peri, through the opening gates of Paradise. [*Renewed laughter.*] There, there, for the first time, my enchanted eye rested upon the ravishing word "Duluth." This map, Sir,

is intended, as it appears from its title, to illustrate the position of Duluth in the United States; but, if gentlemen will examine it, I think they will concur with me in the opinion that it is far too modest in its pretensions. It not only illustrates the position of Duluth in the United States, but exhibits its relations with all created things. It even goes further than this. It lifts the shadowy veil of futurity and affords us a view of the golden prospects of Duluth, far along the dim vista of ages yet to come.

If gentlemen will examine it, they will find Duluth not only in the center of the map, but represented in the center of a series of concentric circles, one hundred miles apart, and some of them as much as four thousand miles in diameter, embracing, alike, in their tremendous sweep, the fragrant savannas of the sunlit South and the eternal solitudes of snow that mantle the ice-bound North. [*Laughter.*] How these circles were produced is, perhaps, one of those primordial mysteries that the most skillful paleologist will never be able to explain. [*Renewed laughter.*] But the fact is, Sir, Duluth is pre-eminently a central place; for I am told by gentlemen who have been so reckless of their personal safety as to venture away into those awful regions where Duluth is supposed to be, that it is so exactly in the center of the visible universe that the sky comes down at precisely the same distance all around it. [*Roars of laughter.*]

I find, by reference to this map, that Duluth is situated somewhere near the western end of Lake Superior; but as there is no dot or other mark indicating its exact location, I am unable to say whether it is actually confined to any particular spot, or whether "it is just lying 'around loose.'" [*Renewed laughter.*] I really cannot tell whether it is one of those ethereal creations of intellectual frost-work, more intangible than the rose-tinted clouds of a summer-sunset; one of those airy exhalations of the speculator's brain which, I am told, are ever fitting, in the form of towns and cities, along those lines of railroad built with Government subsidies, luring the unwary settlers, as the mirage of the desert lures the famishing traveler, on, and ever on, until it fades away in the darkening horizon; or whether it is a real, bona fide, substantial city, all "staked off," with the lots marked with their owners' names, like that proud commercial metropolis, recently discovered on the desirable shores of San Domingo. [*Laughter.*] But, however that may be, I am satisfied Duluth is there, or thereabouts, for I see it stated here, on this map, that it is exactly thirty-nine hundred and ninety miles from Liverpool [*Laughter*] though I have no doubt, for the sake of convenience,

it will be moved back ten miles, so as to make the distance an even four thousand. [*Renewed laughter.*]

Then, Sir, there is the climate of Duluth— unquestionably the most salubrious and delightful to be found anywhere on the Lord's earth. Now, I have always been under the impression, as I presume other gentlemen have, that, in the region around Lake Superior, it was cold enough, fir at least nine months in the year, to freeze the smoke-stack off a locomotive. [*Great laughter.*] But I see it represented, on this map, that Duluth is situated exactly half way between the latitudes of Paris and Venice; so that gentlemen who have inhaled the exhilarating airs of the one, or basked in the golden sunlight of the other may see, at a glance, that Duluth must be a place of untold delights [*Laughter.*] a terrestrial paradise, fanned by the balmy zephyrs of an eternal Spring, clothed in the gorgeous sheen of ever blooming flowers, and vocal with the silvery melody of nature's choicest songsters. [*Laughter.*] In fact, Sir, since I have seen this map, I have no doubt that Byron was vainly endeavoring to convey some faint conception of the delicious charms of Duluth, when his poetic soul gushed forth in the rippling strains of that beautiful rhapsody—

"Know ye the land of the cedar and vine,
 "Where the flowers ever blossom, the beams ever
 "shine;
 "Where the light wings of Zephyr, oppressed
 "with perfume,
 "Wax faint o'er the gardens of Gul, in her
 "bloom;
 "Where the citron and olive are fairest of fruit,
 "And the voice of the nightingale never is
 "mute;
 "Where the tints of the earth and the hues of
 "the sky,
 "In color, though varied, in beauty may vie."
 [*Laughter.*]

As to the commercial resources of Duluth, Sir, they are simply illimitable and inexhaustible, as is shown by this map. I see it stated, here, that there is a vast scope of territory, embracing an area of over two million square miles, rich in every element of material wealth and commercial prosperity, all tributary to Duluth. Look at it, Sir, [*pointing to the map*]. Here are inexhaustible mines of gold, immeasurable veins of silver, impenetrable depths of boundless forest, vast coal measures, wide extended plains of richest pasturage, all, all embraced in this vast territory, which must, in the very nature of things, empty the untold treasures of its commerce into the lap of Duluth. [*Laughter*]

Look at it, Sir, [*pointing to the map,*] do you not see from these broad, brown lines, drawn around this immense territory, that the enterprising inhabitants of Duluth intend, some day, to inclose it all in one vast corral, so that its commerce will be bound to go there, whether it would or not? [*Great laughter.*] And here, Sir, [*Still pointing to the map,*] I find, within a convenient distance, the Piegan Indians, which, of all the many accessories to the glory of Duluth, I consider by far the most inestimable; for, Sir, I have been told that when the small-pox breaks out among the women and children of that famous tribe, as it sometimes does, they afford the finest subjects in the world for the strategical experiments of any enterprising military hero who desires to improve himself in the noble art of war, [*Laughter*] especially for any valiant Lieutenant-general, whose

"Trenchant blade, Toledo, trusty,

"For want of fighting has grown rusty,

"And eats into itself, for lack

"Of somebody to hew and hack."

[*Great laughter.*]

Sir, the great conflict now raging in the Old World has presented a phenomenon in military operations, unprecedented in the annals of mankind, a phenomenon that has reversed all the traditions of the Past as it has disappointed all the expectations of the Present. A grand and warlike people, renowned alike for their skill and valor, have been swept away before the triumphant advance of an inferior foe, like autumn stubble before a hurricane of fire. For aught I know, the next flash of electric fire that shimmers along the ocean cable may tell us that Paris, with every fiber quivering with the agony of impotent despair, writhes beneath the conquering heel of her cursed invader. Ere another moon shall wax and wane, the brightest star in the galaxy of nations may fall from the zenith of her glory, never to rise again. Ere the modest violets of early Spring shall open their beauteous eyes, the genius of civilization may chant the wailing requiem of the proudest nationality the world has ever seen, as she scatters her withered and tear-moistened lilies o'er the bloody tomb of butchered France. But, Sir, I wish to ask if you honestly and candidly believe that the Dutch would have ever overrun the French, in that kind of style, if General Sheridan had not gone over there and told King William and Von Moltke how he had managed to whip the Piegan Indians. [*Great Laughter.*]

And here, Sir, returning to this map, I find in the immediate vicinity of the Piegans "vast" herds of buffalo" and "immense fields of rich "wheat-lands."

[*Here the Speaker's hammer fell.*]

Many cries.—"Go on!" "Go on!"

The Speaker—"Is there objection to the gentleman from Kentucky continuing his remarks?" "The Chair hears none. The gentleman will "proceed."

Mr. Knott—I was remarking, Sir, upon these vast "wheat-fields," represented on this map, in the immediate neighborhood of the buffaloes and the Piegans; and was about to say that the idea of there being these immense wheat-fields in the very heart of a wilderness, hundreds and hundreds of miles beyond the utmost verge of civilization, may appear to some gentlemen rather incongruous—as rather too great a stain on the "blankets" of veracity. But, to my mind, there is no difficulty in the matter, whatever. The phenomenon is very easily accounted for. It is evident, Sir, that the Piegans sowed that wheat there and plowed it in with buffalo bulls. [*Great laughter.*] Now, Sir, this fortunate combination of buffaloes and Piegans, considering their relative positions to each other and to Duluth, as they are arranged on this map, satisfies me that Duluth is destined to be the beef-market of the world.

Here, you will observe [*Pointing to the map*] are the buffaloes, directly between the Piegans and Duluth; and here, right on the road to Duluth, are the Creeks. Now, Sir, when the buffaloes are sufficiently fat from grazing on those immense wheat-fields, you see it will be the easiest thing in the world for the Piegans to drive them on, down; stay all night with their friends, the Creeks; and go into Duluth in the morning. [*Great Laughter.*] I think I see them now, Sir, a vast herd of buffaloes, with their heads down, their eyes glaring, their nostrils dilated, their tongues out, and their tails curled over their backs, tearing along toward Duluth, with about a thousand Piegans on their grass-bellied ponies, yelling at their heels. [*Great laughter.*] On they come. And as they pass the Creeks, they join in the chase; and away they all go, yelling, bellowing, ripping and tearing along, amid clouds of dust, until the last buffalo is safely penned in the stock-yards of Duluth! [*Great laughter.*]

Sir, I might stand here for hours and hours, and expatiate with rapture upon the gorgeous prospects of Duluth, as depicted upon this map. But human life is so short; and the time of this House is far too valuable to allow me to linger upon the delightful theme. [*Laughter.*] I think every gentleman on this floor is as well satisfied as I am that Duluth is destined to become the commercial metropolis of the universe; and that this road should be built at once. I am fully persuaded that no patriotic representative of the American people, who has a proper appreciation of the associated glories of Duluth

and the St. Croix, will hesitate, a moment, to say that every able-bodied female in the land, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, who is in favor of "woman's rights," should be set to work upon this great work, without delay. [*Roars of laughter.*]

Nevertheless, Sir, it grieves my very soul to be compelled to say that I cannot vote for the Grant of lands provided for in the Bill.

And, Sir, you can have no conception of the poignancy of my anguish that I am deprived of the blessed privilege. [*Laughter.*] There are two insuperable obstacles in the way. In the first place my constituents, for whom I am acting here, have no more interest in this road than they have in the great question of culinary taste now, perhaps, agitating the public mind of Dominica, as to whether the illustrious Commissioners who recently left this Capital for that free and enlightened Republic would be better fricaseed, boiled, or roasted, [*Great laughter*]; and, in the second place, these lands, which I am asked to give way, alas, are not mine to bestow! My relation to them is simply that of trustee to an express trust. And shall I ever betray that trust? Never, Sir! Rather perish Duluth! [*Shouts of laughter.*] Perish the paragon of cities! Rather let the freezing cyclones of the bleak Northwest bury it, forever, beneath the eddying sands of the raging St. Croix. [*Great laughter.*]

VIII.—DIARY OF CAPTAIN HENRY SEWALL, OF THE ARMY OF THE REVOLUTION, 1776-1783.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, IN THE POSSESSION OF THE FAMILY.

[We are indebted, for the following article, as well as for the information on which this note is based, to *The Maine Farmer*, one of the most valued of our few exchanges, published at Augusta, Maine, in which paper they have already appeared.]

There are evidences of inaccuracy, in several places, which we suspect are either those of the copyist or the *Farmer's* printer; and it will be seen that, in several places, portions of the Diary have been omitted. We applied for permission to correct these errors and to complete the copy, by comparison of the *Farmer's* version, which we copy, with the original manuscript; but the mutual friend whose assistance in the matter was solicited, informed us, in reply, that the present holder of the manuscript would not afford the opportunity for comparison and correction which we desired and solicited. It is printed, therefore, *just as we have found it*; and we shall endeavor to guard our readers against what we suppose to be the errors which are in it, by monitory foot-notes.

The author of the Diary was HENRY SEWALL, a native of "Old York," Maine, where he was born on the twenty-fourth of October, 1752. He was the son of Henry Sewall, and the sixth in descent from that Henry Sewall, the common ancestor of all the Sewalls, in America, who came from Manchester, England; settled in Newbury, Massachusetts, in 1634; and, afterwards, removed to Rowley. Nicholas Sewall, the grandfather of the subject of this sketch, settled in York; and was, probably the first of the name who lived within the limits of Maine.

Henry Sewall worked on his father's farm and, subsequently, learned the trade of a mason. In the early part of the War of the Revolution, he enlisted in a Company which was recruited at Portland, and marched to Cambridge, where it was attached to Colonel Phinney's Regiment of Massachusetts troops. He enlisted as a private; but he gradually rose to the rank of Captain and Aide-de-camp in the Staff of General William Heath.

At the close of the War, in 1783, he returned to Maine, and opened a store near Fort Western, now Augusta. Five years afterwards, he removed to New York and engaged in various speculations, all of which were unsuccessful; and he returned to Maine, a wiser if not a better man. He was, soon after, made Town-clerk, in Augusta, and held that office for thirty five years. When the District Court of Maine was organized, he was appointed its Clerk; and he occupied that office for twenty nine years, resigning in 1818. He filled the various offices, in the Militia of the State, until he was elected Major-general of the Eighth Division. During the War of 1812, he was actively engaged in organizing the Militia of the State; but, by reason of his advanced age, he did not take the field.

General Sewall was married, first, in 1786, to his cousin, Tabitha Sewall, who died in 1811; second, to another cousin, Rachel Crosby; and, third, to Elizabeth Lowell of Boston, who survived him, dying in 1862. He died at Augusta, in 1845, aged ninety-three years.

The Diary of which the following is a portion, was mostly written, it is said, day by day, in the camp or the field; although, here and there, it is intimated, some "explanatory additions" were made, during a later period of his life. No part of it has ever been published, except the following, in the *Farmer*, as already stated; and, as that paper aptly remarks, "its existence was, probably, not known, save to members of his family and a few friends," until it appeared in that paper.

It is not supposed that any very important additions to our present supply of information will be made by the reproduction of this interesting paper; but as it is a tolerably complete daily record of the events of the War of the Revolution, as those events were made known in the vicinity of the writer's quarters, it may serve to illustrate some hitherto obscure passage or to expose, more completely, some hitherto cankered error, in the history of that period. It would have been more satisfactory to us, had we been permitted, by comparison of our copy with the original, to have corrected any errors of the copyist or the *Farmer's* compositors: as that courtesy has been refused, we present it, *as it is*, with such suggestions concerning what are thought to be inaccuracies, as, from time to time, we shall consider necessary.—EDITOR.]

CAMBRIDGE CAMP, March, 1776.

FRIDAY, 1st. Mounted the Seventh Redout Guard about 10 o'clock, A. M., myself an ensign in Capt. Fernald's Company and Col. Phinney's Regiment.*

SATURDAY, 2^d. Was relieved about 10 A. M. The Regiment had orders in the evening to parade in the morn^g at half past six.

SUNDAY, 3^d. Paraded according to orders and marched three Companies to Cobble Hill and five to Lechmere Point.† While we were on Cobble Hill fort the enemy threw five bombs. We fired two cannons from our fort and three bombs from Lechmere. We split both of our Howitzers, but none of our people were hurt. Toward night the "Congress" moved down and

* The *Eighteenth* Regiment of the "Army of the United Colonies," numbering, on the following morning, four hundred and thirteen men, of whom one hundred and twenty-eight were unfit for duty.—EDITOR.

† The movement which was made to divert the British, while the Colonists took possession of Dorchester Heights.—EDITOR.

played at Cobble Hill.* (The "Congress" was a brass mortar by that name.)

MONDAY, 4th. Our people began again to bombard and cannonade Boston at about eight o'clock. Cracked the Congress at the third shot.† The enemy returned the fire five to one, and no damage from them. A false alarm about 10 o'clock. A heavy cannonading and bombarding began in the evening at Roxbury, and also at Lechmere Point, by which one man was killed and two wounded.

MONDAY, 5th.‡ Discovered early this morning that our people had been erecting works on Dorchester hills, upon the supposition that the enemy would sally out to take said works. We were ordered under arms;§ marched up and joined the Brigade on the grand parade, *on the Common*, tarried there till afternoon then came home. I mounted the Regimental picket at retreat beating.

WEDNESDAY, 6th. No great disturbance last night. Pretty peaceable by day.

THURSDAY, 7th. Fast throughout the Province—went to Meeting.

SATURDAY, 9th. A strong talk that the enemy is moving off.

SUNDAY, 10th. Four men killed on Dorchester Point, last night by the enemy. Went to Meeting.

TUESDAY, 12th. A number of likely, well-built men, selected from each Regiment for Gen. Washington's guard.

WEDNESDAY, 13th. General orders for the riflemen to march to-morrow morning. A talk that the army will be moved to the southward.||

THURSDAY, 14th. Rainy. General Orders that Cois. Stark's, Patterson's, Webb's, Yeaton's¶ and Bond's Regiment, together with two Companies of Artillery, to march to-morrow

* The "Congress," mortar, was fired from Cobble-hill, not at it, as stated in the text—possibly an error in copying the original.—EDITOR.

† It has been supposed, hitherto, that the Congress was burst on Sunday, instead of Monday.—Vide Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, 297.—EDITOR.

‡ Thus printed in the *Farmer*; but probably intended for TUESDAY.—EDITOR.

§ We suppose this paragraph has been inaccurately copied or printed in the *Farmer*, and that it should read as follows: "TUESDAY, 5th. Discovered, early this morning, that our people had been erecting works on Dorchester hills. Upon the supposition that the enemy would sally out to take said works, we were ordered under arms," &c.—EDITOR.

|| A Council of War was held at General Ward's Headquarters, at Cambridge, on the thirteenth, when "it was determined to detach the Rifle Battalion and five Regiments, the next day, to New York."—EDITOR.

¶ Thus printed in the *Farmer*; but probably intended for "Grearson's," whose Regiment was one of the five thus ordered to move, on the next day, as stated in the text.—EDITOR.

morning at 9 o'clock under the command of Gen. Heath.

FRIDAY, 15th. I received pay for the month of January. Barracks caught fire in the evening and were *partly* consumed.

SATURDAY, 16th. Mounted guard at Lechmere Point, under the command of Maj. McCobb. Rainy, muddy weather. A firing at Boston.

SUNDAY, 17th. At Lechmere Point—a general alarm throughout the camp about eight o'clock. Before this, saw the enemy leave Bunker Hill. Saw Gen. Sullivan, with a party take possession of Bunker Hill without opposition. Saw also the shipping in Boston get under sail, the wind blowing fresh northwest, and making down the harbor. Could discover no regular sentinels as usual on the back of Boston on which concluded the enemy was gone. About eleven o'clock a party of our army who had had the small pox* landed and patrolled Boston without the least shadow of opposition. In the evening several Regiments marched in and took possession of the town. We were not relieved all day.

MONDAY, 18th. At Lechmere Point. The cannon removed from Lechmere to Boston. We were relieved about half past ten o'clock. Went on to Bunker Hill and down to Charlestown ferry in the afternoon; was greatly astonished at the strength of the works on Bunker Hill, &c.

WEDNESDAY, 20th. Captain and I went to Boston. While we were gone the Regiment was ordered in. Lodged in town.

THURSDAY, 21st. Went back to Cambridge and got some of our things and brought them to Boston. Took lodgings near Fort hill.

FRIDAY, 22^d. Went on Fatigue at Fort hill. Had our effects moved from Cambridge. Were ordered from our lodgings to another house. Uncle Jos. Sewall came here from Old York.

SATURDAY, 23^d.† Weather cold. Wrote home by Uncle Jos. Sewall.

SUNDAY, 24th. Went to meeting where I heard Mr. Murray.

MONDAY, 25th. Got a pass and went to Brookline. Could not get a pass to come in—tarried all night.

TUESDAY, 26th. Got a pass of General Ward, and came into town.

WEDNESDAY, 27th. Cold. Copied the gen-

* The small-pox prevailed in some parts of Boston; and very stringent measures were adopted to ensure the health of the troops who were moved into the abandoned town.—EDITOR.

† Thus printed in the *Farmer*; probably intended for the "23^d."—EDITOR.

orders into a new book. Got settled at last in a house near Fort hill, by Griffin's wharf, Boston.

FRIDAY, 29th. Mounted the main guard, Capt. Rice, Capt. thereof.

SATURDAY, 30th. Was relieved. Bro. Daniel came to see me from Old York.

APRIL 1st. Went to Brookline round by Cambridge and in by Charlestown ferry.

TUESDAY, 2^d. The biggest part of the army gone to the southward.* 2 Rgts. in town; ordered one to Dorchester hills and the other to Bunker hill.

WEDNESDAY, 3^d. General Ward appointed to command the town. J. Ames and Joseph Berry went home.

THURSDAY, 4th. A mutiny among Col. Hutchinson's Reg. I on Fatigue at Fort hill. Gen'l Warren's remains dug up. Bro. Daniel went to Concord.

SATURDAY, 6th. Dennis Fernald broke out with the small pox. Bro. Daniel returned.

SUNDAY, 7th. Went to meeting at the old Brick, where Mr. Cooper preached.

MONDAY, 8th. The body of the late General Warren was interred with *military and masonic honors*. The procession, headed by a company of men from our Regiment, under arms, succeeded by a venerable body of Masons; then after the corpse, followed the officers of the army. He was carried into the stone chapel where was a prayer by *Dr. Thaxter*, and oration delivered by Hon. P. Morton, to a crowded audience. 3 volleys were fired near the tomb.

TUESDAY, 9th. Lt. Donnel and I, with some of the company, went to Cambridge and buried Smith who died yesterday at the Hospital of fever. Bro. Daniel went home.

WEDNESDAY, 10th. Rev. Mr. Spring came here from Kittery. I on Fatigue at Fort hill.

TUESDAY, 16th. Rainy weather. Captain Stuart died.

WEDNESDAY, 17th. 11 men whipped on the Common for mutiny and disobedience of orders. 7 sent to Dorchester to receive the like punishment. 2 more under sentence of death.

THURSDAY, 18th. Ensign Perkins died at Brookline hospital, of small pox. I mounted guard.

FRIDAY, 19th. Walked to the hospital with a number of ladies, and returned.

SATURDAY, 20th. Dennis Fernald came from the small pox hospital. Captain Hill and Dr. Sprague went to the small pox hospital.

MONDAY, 22^d. Capt. Fernald carried to the small pox hospital.

FRIDAY, 26th. I got the effects of Robert Jennison who died at Cambridge Hospital the 24th.

SATURDAY, 27th. Let Miss Sally Sewall have some linen to make two shirts—at *Brookline*.

SUNDAY, 28th. I mounted main guard with Lt. Milliken. Stole away to meeting.

MONDAY, 29th. As soon as I came off guard, went on a Regimental court martial, try'd Joseph Wymouth.

MAY 2^d. Mounted the main guard, which was a composition of the Boat and main guards, and removed from King street to Wheelwright's wharf.

FRIDAY, 3^d. After I was relieved, went on a Regimental court martial, try'd two persons.

WEDNESDAY, 15th. Took a sail down the bay to Point Shirley—tarried all night.

FRIDAY, MAY 17th. Fast throughout the continent. A large ship from Ireland, loaded with warlike stores, &c., taken by our privateers and brought into the harbor. About a hundred men armed from our regiment went down to guard her up in the afternoon.*

SATURDAY, 18th. Capt. Pierce died with small pox.

MONDAY, 20th. An engagement last night below, between our privateers and a number of the enemy's barges in which Capt. Mugford was killed.† A man drowned out of a lighter coming up the harbor—he was brought to the guard-house.

MONDAY, 27th. Israel Burbank here—wrote home by him.

WEDNESDAY, 29th. General Elections. Went

* This was the transport *Hope*, and was the most valuable prize which the Colonists had then captured. As it was taken in sight of the British fleet, by a Continental cruiser, the schooner *Franklin*, commanded by Captain James Mugford, the loss was felt, by the enemy, with unusual nervousness; and, not unlikely, it led to the death of Captain Mugford, two days afterwards.

On her way up the harbor, the prize ran ashore, on Pulling-point; and Colonel Phinney's Regiment was evidently sent down to guard her from the enemy's boats—a portion of the British fleet still laying off Nantasket.—*EDITOR.*

† While falling down the harbor, preparatory to another cruise, the *Franklin* ran ashore at Point Shirley; where, also, the privateer *Lady Washington* came to anchor. During the night, thirteen boats, from the Royal fleet, attacked the two schooners; but, after a desperate conflict, they were repulsed. The only person, on board the two schooners, who was killed, was Captain Mugford, the gallant commander of the *Franklin*. His remains were carried for interment to Marblehead.—*EDITOR.*

* Five Regiments had left, on the eighteenth ultimo, under General Heath; on the twenty-seventh, a Brigade had also marched, under General Sullivan; and on the first of April, another Brigade had followed.—*EDITOR.*

to the capital. Uncle Jos. and Moses here from York.

FRIDAY, 31st. One Mr. Jenkins endeavored to get Abram Linscott from the service, but his endeavors proved abortive.

SUNDAY, JUNE 2^d. Went to meeting at Mr. Stillman's meeting—it being the first time of his preaching since the late evacuation of the town by the British. His text from Psalms 126—1.*

THURSDAY, 4th. Lieut. Donnel went on G. C. M., whereof Colonel Phinney was President. Try'd 2 prisoners.

SUNDAY, 9th. A company of highlanders taken yesterday in a ship, and brought into Marblehead—were bro't to this town.†

THURSDAY, 13th. A detachment of 170 men from our Regt and others, properly officered went down to some of the Islands to drive away the shipping.

FRIDAY, 14th. The Party drove away all the shipping without any loss on our side.‡

SATURDAY, 15th. Mov'd our Quarters nearer the Regiment. I went to the Hospital at Brookline with small pox.

SUNDAY, 23^d. At the Hospital—living on Continental Hasty Pudding & milk.

TUESDAY, 25th. Got a certificate to come away, but was disappointed by my clothes not coming.

WEDNESDAY, 26th. Not very well, but however, was cleansed and left the Hospital, and got to Boston about noon.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 17th. Orders for three Regiments to march to New York.§

THURSDAY, 18th. The declaration of continental Congress for INDEPENDENCE was read from the Balcony in King street, where 13 volleys of small arms were fired, besides a number of cannon. Col. Sargent's and Rutherford's Regiments march for New York.

SUNDAY, 21st. A transport bound to Boston

with Beef and Pork for the Regulars became our prize.

MONDAY, 22^d. Got a furlough of 7 days to go home after deserters. Got a Horse.

WEDNESDAY, 24th. Got to York before Night—was kindly received by my friends.

THURSDAY, 25th. At York saw the Militia meet to enlist men for Canada.

WEDNESDAY, 31st. Left York and set out for Boston. Got to Ipswich in the evening, where I lodged.

THURSDAY, Aug. 1st. Fast throughout the Colonies. Journeyed from Ipswich, and got into Boston before night.

SATURDAY, 10th. General Order for the Regiment to march next Thursday for Ticonderoga.

THURSDAY, 8th. Marched out of Boston to Roxbury. Lodged there.

FRIDAY 9th. Left Roxbury about 9 o'clock—marched through Watertown, Waltham, into Westown where we lodged.

SATURDAY, 10th. Marched through Lincoln, Concord & Acton.

SUNDAY, 11th. Marched from Littleton to Groton.

MONDAY, 12th. Marched from Groton through Lunenburg to Fitchburg—lodged there & was agreeably entertained with music.

TUESDAY, 13th. Marched from Fitchburg (bad road) to Ashburnham, where we put up. Had a court-martial on one Michael Terney for Theft, sentenced him to receive 39 lashes, &c.

WEDNESDAY, 14th. Michael Terney received his punishment. Marched from Ashburnham to Winchendon, where we put up about noon, and halted because of the other Regiment ahead.

THURSDAY, 15th. Marched thro' the Woods from Winchendon to Fitz-William (N. Hampshire) where we put up.

FRIDAY, 16th. Marched from Fitz-William to Swansey, where we put up the chief of the Regiment.

SATURDAY, 17th. Marched from Swansey thro Keene, Surry to Walpole.

SUNDAY, 18th. Marched from Walpole, & arrived at Charlestown No. 4.

MONDAY, 19th. Whitcomb's Regiment marched for Ticonderoga.

WEDNESDAY, 21st. Marched from No. 4 about 9 o'clock—got over the Ferry about three in the afternoon and moved about 5

* Mr. Stillman was the distinguished Pastor of the Baptist-church in Boston—now known as the First—whose meeting-house was then on Back-street, with the rear of its premises extending to the Mill-pond.—EDITOR.

† Several transports were captured, about this time; and, on one of them, were Colonel Archibald Campbell and three hundred Highlanders. Major Menzies, of the Corps, was killed, in the action, and buried in Boston, with military honors.—EDITOR.

‡ The British squadron which the enemy had left at Nantasket.—EDITOR.

§ Congress having complied with the General's request to send three Regiments to the Northern Army, a "conference of General Officers and others" met at Headquarters, on the eighth of July, and "agreed, unanimously, That the said three Regiments be immediately "dispatched."—*Proceedings of the Conference.*—EDITOR.

miles into Springfield (New York Government.)

THURSDAY, 22^d. Marched from Springfield to Cavendish, about 8 miles of Woods—bad roads and poor entertainment when we got to it. Lodged in a camp of bushes from choice.

FRIDAY, 23^d. Marched from Cavendish about 8 miles into the woods, lodged in a bushes encampment.

SATURDAY, 24th. March on. Saw no house all day. Encamped in the woods.

SUNDAY, 25th. Found a house about 4 o'clock where we expected beef to be killed, but were disappointed—pushed on for the next house, to which the bigger part of the Regt. arrived—I lodged in the woods, and in the rain.

MONDAY, 26th. Marched on 4 or 5 miles to a village near Otter Creek, where we put up. Rainy weather which made it very uncomfortable.

TUESDAY, 27th. Laid still. Wet weather. (Fine, fruitful land on the Banks of this Otter Creek—large quantity of fine intervals.)

WEDNESDAY, 28th. Marched on to the Creek (by the way sat on a Regimental Court martial—try'd Corp. Buzzel, Moses Gannon and Jonathan Norton for desertion—each received 5 lashes, which was ten short of the sentence. Some of the Regt. got over the Creek on a Raft.

THURSDAY, 29th. The remainder of the Regt. together with the Teams & Baggage got over the Creek and proceeded on our march—got to Castleton (Fine Land) where we halted.

FRIDAY, 30th. Marched from Castleton into the Woods to Poultney river where we encamped.

SEPTEMBER, 1st. SUNDAY. Our Regt. at Sheensboro * since called Whitehall. A *Rogal-ley* launched in the lake—there (are) two more on the stocks. (A low, unwholesome country on the south of Lake Champlain.

MONDAY, 2^d. Embarked on board Batteaux and went down the lake from Sheensboro to Ticonderoga—landed on the east side called "Mount Independence." The Regt. having no tents, went into a long store, &c., till we could get houses made.

TUESDAY, 3^d. The Regt. employed in clearing the Regimental Parade, which was all wild woods.

SUNDAY, 8th. The Regt. employed in build-

ing wooden tents and almost without tools. Heard news of a battle in New York.*

MONDAY, 9th. Two hundred men from the Regt., ordered up Lake George to Fort George. Embarked in batteaux at the foot or North end of lake George about 2 o'clock. Got to Sabbathday Point, where we encamped.

TUESDAY, 10th. Proceeded up the lake, arrived at Fort George in the evening, went into barracks there. Fort George is at the south end of lake George.

WEDNESDAY, 11th. A detachment commanded by a sub'n from the Regt. went down the lake to transport Flour, &c. in Batteaux to Ticonderoga.

FRIDAY, 20th. Began to build a chimney. Lt. Col. March & Lt. McLellan arrived here.

TUESDAY, 24th. Lt. Donnell went down the lake with Provisions.

FRIDAY, 27th. The Col. rec'd orders to return to Mt. Independence; the detachment embarked about 2 o'clock, encamped on an Island in the Lake during the night.

SATURDAY, 28th. Proceeded down the Lake and arrived at Mt. Independence on the east side of the lake opposite Ticonderoga, in the evening, and joined the Regiment.

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 9th. Jno. Main died and buried.

SUNDAY 13th. Heard a cannonading down the lake in the morning. Heard about noon of the engagement of our and the enemy's Fleet—wherein we lost two sail and retreated for want of ammunition.† About 4 in the afternoon manned our line and took our alarm posts.

MONDAY, 14th. Manned the lines an hour before day. Went on fatigue, fortifying the back of the mount.

TUESDAY, 15th. On fatigue at do. which is now our alarm post, and which we man before day successfully. Gen. Waterbury and all our Prisoners brought here by a Flag from the enemy.‡

WEDNESDAY, 16th. Heard of a Party of the Enemy's arrival at Crown Point, and expect them to attack the Fortress very soon.§

* Probably the Battle of Long-island, which had been fought on the twenty-seventh of August.—EDITOR.

† The second day of the conflict between the American flotilla, commanded by General Benedict Arnold, and the British, commanded by Captain Thomas Pringle.—EDITOR.

‡ General Waterbury, the second in command of the flotilla, which had been defeated and destroyed on the thirteenth, as already noticed in the text.—EDITOR.

§ After the defeat of the flotilla, General Carleton occupied Crown-point, which had been previously abandoned by the Americans; but he advanced no further, until the following year.—EDITOR.

* Thus printed in *The Farmer*: it should have been "Skenesborough."—EDITOR.

SATURDAY, 19th. James McMarnard died and was buried.

MONDAY, 21st. Our Guard boats discovered a party of Indians on the lake.

WEDNESDAY, 25th.* Warm for the season and climate.

THURSDAY, 24th. My birth day 24th year.

FRIDAY, 25th, &c. A boom laid across the lake.

MONDAY, 28th. A genl. alarm thro' the camp. A Party of Regulars and Hessians landed before noon at 3 mile Point, but retreated without attacking us.

TICONDEROGA

TUESDAY, 29th. Nothing to be heard or seen of the enemy. I mounted the main guard.

THURSDAY, 31st. Wilson of our company died and buried.

FRIDAY, November 1st. I went on Fatigue. The floating bridge completed.

SATURDAY, 2nd. The Committee of Congress arrived in camp to engage officers for the war.†

FRIDAY, 8th. Edward Fernald discharged.

SATURDAY, 9th. Gave in my name to carry during the war under Col. Brewer as a 1st Lieut.

WEDNESDAY, 13th. Took enlisting orders to list men for the war, but I didn't receive the bounty money.

SATURDAY, 18th. Enlisted in all 10 men.

SUNDAY, 17th. Gen'l. Gates left this place.

MONDAY, 18th. The Regiment ordered to march to Albany.‡

TUESDAY, 19th. Sent all our baggage to Lake George Landing. Col. Patterson's Regt. marched to said landing.

WEDNESDAY, 20th. Left Mt. Independence about 9 o'clock—got to Lake George Landing about noon. No boats to transport us over the Lake. Encamped in the woods near the Landing.

* It is thus printed in the *Farmer*; but was evidently intended for the twenty-third.—EDITOR.

† This Committee was composed of Richard Stockton and George Clymer. It was appointed by ballot on the twenty-sixth of September, on the recommendation of a Committee of the Congress, made the preceding day; and its duties were very much more varied in their character than Captain Sewall supposed, as will be seen in the Resolution of Congress under which they were appointed.—EDITOR.

‡ See General Orders of the eighteenth of November, 1776.

Colonel Phinney's Regiment was in the First Division, with those of Colonel Patterson and Beadel.—EDITOR.

THURSDAY, 31st.* No more boats arrived than were necessary for Col. Patterson's Regt. to embark in. Waited for the arrival of more boats.

FRIDAY, 2nd. Rainy weather. Boats arrived sufficient to convey the invalids and 3 companies of our Regt. Ours being one of the No. we embarked about one o'clock, and rowed up the Lake till near 12 at night, when we encamped at Long Island.

SATURDAY, 23^d. Started from Long Island before sunrise; arrived at Fort George about 9 o'clock, where we barracked.

SUNDAY, 24th. At Fort George. The rear of the Regiment arrived here. Col. Starks resigned the command to Col. Phinney upon our arrival. Our duty here is to transport flour over the Lake.

WEDNESDAY, 27th. Major Fernald rec'd 5000 dollars from Col. Brewer for the Recruiting service, of which Capt. Donnel rec'd 1000 out of that sum, I rec'd 212, as did the other subalterns.

FRIDAY, 29th. Col. Brewer arrived here and proceeded to Saratoga to Gen'l Schuyler to get liberty to furlough the new enlisted men, &c.

SUNDAY, Dec. 1st. Had a sermon in the afternoon, by Chaplain Mr. Carnes.

WEDNESDAY, 4th. Lt. Donnel went down country to press some waggons, who refused to transport flour from Fort Edward.

SUNDAY, 8th. Very much busied in making out muster rolls. The whole Regiment mustered in the afternoon by Mr. Varrick, Dept. Must. Mast. Genl.

MONDAY, 9th. Made out more muster rolls.

TUESDAY, 10th. Had liberty for one half the officers on the new enlistment to go Recruiting.

WEDNESDAY, 11th. Major Fernald, Capt. Donnel and Ensign Stover set out for the recruiting service.

THURSDAY, 12th. A small flirt of snow. Drummed a *shemale* out of camp.

FRIDAY, 13th. I went to Fort Edward to forward flour to this post—tarried all night.

SEPT. 14th. Returned—had a cold time of it the weather being severe.

SUNDAY, 15th. Col. Phinney recd. a letter from Gen. Schuyler giving an account of a capital engagement at New York in which Gen'l. Washington gained the field covered with

* Probably intended for the twenty-first; but thus printed in our copy.—EDITOR.

† Lieutenant-colonel Richard Varick, subsequently Mayor New York, etc.—EDITOR.

slain and wounded of the enemy.* Dr. Graves went over the Lake with an express which came also from Gen'l. Schyler. Capt. Hill and Smith went recruiting.

TUESDAY, 17th. Remick and I ointed for the Itch in the evening; contracted by lying on the ground.

MONDAY, 23^d. Some of our sick went off to Albany in the waggons.

TUESDAY, 24th. The navigation of the Lake impeded.

WEDNESDAY, 17th. Christmas. No snow and the Lake not closed over.

THURSDAY, 26th. Mr. McCastelin died very suddenly of fits. A stormy day—the snow fell more than a foot deep.

FRIDAY, 17th. One or two sleighs came up from below, and broke the way.

SATURDAY, 28th. Jno. Morgan of Capt. York's Company was found dead near bloody Pond.

TUESDAY, 31st. Mr. Hall of our company died—buried here. No relief yet.

1777.

WEDNESDAY, Jan. 1st. The Majority of the Regt. went off and left the officers.† A considerable rain which diminished the snow greatly.

FRIDAY, 3^d. Remick & Sergt. Stevens went off.

SATURDAY, 4th. The Lake closed over.

MONDAY, 6th. The men having left the Garrison—the officers followed after—I embarked aboard a sleigh at Fort Gage about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 †—got 4 or 5 miles below Fort Edward where we put up.

TUESDAY, 7th. Cold. Drove on—arrived at Albany before dark—put up at a tavern. Expenses for the sleigh 10 shillings.

WEDNESDAY, 8th. Waited for the arrival of Col. March.

THURSDAY, 9th. Made out the mileage Rolls after the Col. arrived.

FRIDAY, 10th. Drew the mileage money and paid off what money we had.

TUESDAY, 14th. Settled our keeping which

was six dollars, and at noon set off from Albany; got by the help of a sleigh 20 miles to Phillipstown.

WEDNESDAY, 15th. Walked about 2 miles where we agreed with a man to carry 4 of us in a sleigh toward Boston: got to Pittsfield.

THURSDAY, 16th. Rode from Pittsfield to Glasgow (23 miles). Snowy day.

FRIDAY, 17th. Rode from Glasgow through Westfield, Springfield to Wilbrabam (33 miles.)

SATURDAY, 18th. Bad sleighing. Travelled 10 or a dozen miles—discharged the sleigh at Palmer and travelled to Brookfield. Expenses for the sleigh 4 shillings.

SUNDAY, 19th. Travelled on—missed my watch—got a horse and sleigh, rode back 4 miles and found it; overtook my company about noon. Travelled through Spencer and Leighton to Worcester.

MONDAY, 20th. Got into some Dutch sleighs which came from Albany (& are going to Boston) rode thro' Northbury & Middleboro' to Sudbury.

TUESDAY, 21st. Rode from Sudbury through Westown, Waltham, Watertown to Cambridge where we dined. Got to Boston in the evening—put up at Mr. Bradishes on King street.

THURSDAY, 23^d. Cold. Waited to muster some men which I got sworn.

FRIDAY, 24th. Snow and rain. Mustered Crien and took the muster master's note for the money.

SATURDAY, 26th. Rec'd the money, and paid it to the men. Got an order to draw allowances for them. Left town about one o'clock.

SUNDAY, 26th to 28th. Journeying from Boston to York. Called and dined at Maj. Fernald's on the way.

WEDNESDAY, 29th. Fast throughout this State.

FRIDAY, 31st. Visited my friends at York—saw Capt. Donnel and many other things too numerous to mention in this small volume.

SUNDAY, Feb. 9th. Went to meeting heard an act read demanding 1-7 part of the Militia to engage for three years in the Continental service.

MONDAY, 10th. Captain Donnel and I went to Kittery to see the Major.

WEDNESDAY, 12th. Came from Kittery and lodged at Aunt Bragden's.

THURSDAY, 13th. Came home—Aunt Billings at my Fathers.

MONDAY, 17th. Went to Kittery—enlisted Phillips Davis and mustered him.

* It is difficult to conceive what engagement, in the vicinity of New York, was here referred to, unless that near the White Plains; and that was hardly such as would have justified the report referred to in the text.—*EDITOR.*

† The terms of their enlistment had expired; and their "patriotism" led them to go home and let the Northern frontier take care of itself.—*EDITOR.*

‡ As the author of this Diary had re-enlisted—*Vide Diary, November 9, ante*—it is not quite clear that, by that abandonment of his post, he did not become, himself, in fact, a deserter.—*EDITOR.*

WEDNESDAY, 17th. Lt. Johnson and I set out for Falmouth—reached Kimball's at Kennebunk—Saw Capt. Bradish there.

THURSDAY, 20th. Travelled from Kimball's to Blackpoint. Snowy day.

FRIDAY, 21st. Arrived at Falmouth about 2 o'clock. Saw with pain the ruins of that once flourishing town, which had been burned by the British.* Put up at Mrs. Child's.

SATURDAY, 22nd. Patroled the town—assisted my friends, who treated me with much kindness.

SUNDAY, 23^d. Went to meeting at Falmouth—Dined with Mr. Ingraham.

MONDAY, 24th. Went from Falmouth to Gorham—lodged at Mr. Crockett's.

WEDNESDAY, 26th. Set off from Gorham. Got to the widow Pattens at Arrundel.

THURSDAY, 27th. Breakfasted at Capt. Murrill's and proceeded to Uncle Titcomb's at Kennebunk, where I lodged.

FRIDAY, 28th. Went to Cape Porpoise to Uncle Burbank's and returned to Uncle Titcomb's.

SATURDAY, MARCH 1st. Set out from Kennebunk, and got to York in the evening.

THURSDAY, 6th. Set out from York—(had Mr. E. S. Prebbles) horse—about 9 o'clock for Falmouth after some deserters.

FRIDAY, 7th. Arrived at Falmouth about one o'clock. Heard of Robert White, a deserter, who getting intelligence of my being in town, went off Eastward. Pursued and overtook him at New Casco.

SUNDAY, 8th.† Arrived again at Falmouth with the Prisoner about 9 o'clock A. M. Proceeded to Saco—arrived in the evening.

SUNDAY, 9th. Journeyed from Saco; got to Cape Neddick—lodged at Elihu Parsons.

YORK.

MONDAY, 10th. Arrived at York in the forenoon with the Prisoner—who after passing muster refunded twenty dollars to Capt. Donnel and went with Capt. Donnel with whom he first enlisted.

TUESDAY, 11th. Capt. Doume & Ensign Storer marched off with the first Division. I accompanied them as far as Portsmouth. Town meeting at York.

THURSDAY, 18th.‡ A French ship arrived at

Portsmouth.

SATURDAY, 22^d, 1777. Bro. Jotham arrived home.

WEDNESDAY, 26th. Mustered Wm. Couch—heard of the desertion of Jno. Smart.

THURSDAY, 27th. Enlisted David Rogers.

MONDAY, 31st. Enlisted one Wm. Boise and mustered him,

APRIL 1st. Rainy day. Went to lecture. Listed Mr. Dempsey.

FRIDAY, 4th. Cold and windy. Went to Birch hill.

SUNDAY, 6th. Mr. Jenks of Falmo. brought up Trott Webber and Stevens from Falmo. Trott broke away last night. Advertized him.

TUESDAY, 8th. Went to Kittery. Trott came and delivered himself up to the major.

THURSDAY, 10th. Inlisted Daniel Bragden.

FRIDAY, 11th. Trott had his trial before the session, for theft; was sentenced to pay 37s damages and remanded to Gaol.

MONDAY, 14th. Set out from York for Boston—had 12 or 14 men under my care. Got to North hill.

Expenses, 0. 3. 0.

THURSDAY, 17th. Marched into Boston, took Barracks—drew allowance, arms &c.

FRIDAY, 18th. Applied to the Board of war for blankets—could not obtain any.

SATURDAY, 19th. Major Fernald arrived in town.

SUNDAY, 20th. Went to Roxbury, A. M. to get John Smart clear from an officer who had enlisted him.

FRIDAY, 25th. Exchanged the arms which I first drew, for new French Arms.

SATURDAY, 26th. Drew gun-slings and knapsacks.

TUESDAY, 29th. Went to Cambridge, prepared to march for Ticonderoga.

Ex. at Boston, 4. 0. 0.

WEDNESDAY, 30th. Marched out of Boston, got to Waltham.

THURSDAY, May 1st. Fast throughout the State. Rained and snowed all day. Marched to Sudbury.

FRIDAY, 2^d. Marched to Shrewsboro.

SATURDAY, 3^d. Arrived at Worcester about 10 o'clock. Drew 4 days' allowance, and marched for Leicester.

SUNDAY, 4th. Marched from Leicester to Brookfield. Our wagoner failing, we applied to the committee for another. Capt. Wheelwright joined us with 20 men.

* Falmouth, now Portland, Maine, was burned by the Royal forces, a short time previous to the visit of Lieutenant Sewall.

† Probably intended for *Saturday*; but it is as above, in our copy.—*ERROR*.

‡ Probably intended for *Tuesday*; but we find it, in our copy, as we have printed it.—*ERROR*.

MONDAY, 5th. Waited at Brookfield.

TUESDAY, 6th. Obtained a team at last and proceeded on our march, got to Belcherton.

WEDNESDAY, 7th. Marched from Belcherton to Hadley, where we dismissed the wagoner and applied for another.

THURSDAY, 8th. Drew 7 days allowances and with much Difficulty obtained a team to carry our baggage to the Ferry, got over about one o'clock, tarried at the Tavern near the Ferry all day and night, meantime solicited the committee of Northampton for a team.

FRIDAY, 9. Rained in the forenoon. Obtained a team marched from Northampton about 1 o'clock, got to Chesterfield. Wet weather which made our march very uncomfortable.

SATURDAY, 10. Procured a team at Chesterfield to carry our Baggage to Worthington, very bad weather and roads.

MONDAY, 12th. Procured a team and proceeded on our march, got to Pittsfield where we obtained a team to carry our baggage to Albany.

TUESDAY, 13th. Marched from Pittsfield to Phillipstown, State of New York.

WEDNESDAY, 14th. Arrived at *Albany* before night, got into Barracks &c.

THURSDAY, 15th. Drew allowances, Camp Kettles &c.

FRIDAY, 16th. Our detachment joined by a number more, left the city of Albany as an escort to a number of cannon going to Ticonderoga. Got to the Ferry below the new City.*

SATURDAY, 17th. Put up 6 miles below Stillwater, mounted a guard of 30 men to guard the cannon.

SUNDAY, 18th. Made an attempt to get up the Rapids to Stillwater, got only two miles farther when we were obliged to unload the cannon and take them by Land to Stillwater. Went to Stillwater and drew Provisions.

MONDAY, 19th. Moving the Cannon to Littleton by Land, the Escort still detained here.

WEDNESDAY, 21st. Put the Cannon aboard Batteaux and sent them on to Saratoga. The Detachment set off by land in the afternoon, got within 6 miles of Saratoga.

THURSDAY, 22^d. Got to Saratoga with the Detachment, 2 Sergeants and 6 men left the Detachment without orders.

FRIDAY, 23^d. All the Cannon which were in the rear arrived and passed the Ferry above Saratoga. We were reinforced by Major Tubbs with a detachment of near an hundred men.

* Probably the city of Troy, New York.—EDITOR

SATURDAY, 24th. All the Cannon except 8 pieces arrived by Land at Fort Miller Landing.

SUNDAY, 25th. Got all the Cannon except what went by Batteaux and proceeded up the river by water. Met with the misfortune to drown one of the Batteaux men going up the rapids, and grounded a Batteaux with a cannon in her.

MONDAY, 26th. Arrived at Fort Edward with the chief of the Cannon, our detachment moved on in the afternoon, got 3 or 4 miles from Fort Edward.

TUESDAY, 27. Arrived at Fort George about noon, where we found two companies of our Regt.

WEDNESDAY, 28th. Tarried in Fort George where Colo Van Dyke commanded.*

THURSDAY, 29th. Embarked with our Detachment in Batteaux about 11 o'clock, to escort the Cannon which were conveyed over the Lake on the *Pettit Augre* with a sufficient guard on board, I went in the *Pettit Augre*. Sailed and rowed all night.

FRIDAY, 30th. Arrived at the Northern Landing † by sunrise, left our baggage at the Landing and proceeded to Ticonderoga, joined the Regt. about 1 o'clock.

SATURDAY, 31st. Got our baggage from the Landing. Could not obtain Permission to return to our Company at Fort George.

MONDAY, June 2^d. Made a Pay abstract for myself and what men were on the Guard at Tay, ‡ and rec'd 2 months pay of the Regt. Paymaster Capt. Jenkins and I built a small hut and covered it with a couple of tents.

TUESDAY, 3^d. A prisoner rec'd 100 lashes.

SATURDAY, 7th. Went on Fatigue. A Soldier in Colo. Martial's Regt. rec'd 100 lashes at the public whipping Post and Sat on the gallows for desertion and reenlisting.

MONDAY, 9th. Capt. Donnel came here from Fort George. A Soldier of the Hampshire troops rec'd 100 lashes, I sat on a court of inquiry. Rec'd a letter from Lt. Remick.

TUESDAY, 10th. Took an emetic for the Jaundice.

FRIDAY, 13th. Gen. St. Clair arrived here.

SATURDAY, 14th. Our Reg't mustered.

SUNDAY, 16th. All the men who were on

* Colonel Van Dyke was the commander of a Regiment in the New York line.—EDITOR.

† The northern landing, at the foot of Lake George, near Ticonderoga.—EDITOR.

‡ Probably intended for "Ty," the abbreviation of Ticonderoga, by which former name the fort and its vicinity were generally known.—EDITOR.

Guard yesterday mustered by Colo. Varrick D. M. M. Gl.

THURSDAY * 17th. An alarm caused by a Party of Indians, who killed 3 men just without the lines.

FRIDAY, † 26th. Went on Fatigue, very hot. Capt. Merrill arrived with some Recruits. 2 men killed, another wounded near the mills by the Indians. Capt. Donnel came here from Fort George with orders for his whole company to go into the fleet at Lake George.

FRIDAY, 27th. Capt. Donnel with his company went to Lake George to man the fleet there. Lt. Thompson went in my room. I staid with the Regiment.

SATURDAY, 28th. Paraded at my alarm Post by daylight in the morning which is General Orders to do every day. About 10 o'clock a general alarm was fired from the several Forts occasioned by some spy boats from the enemy, being discovered by our Guard Boats.

SUNDAY, 29th. Ointed with brimstone for the Ground Itch. Lt. Parsons arrived with recruits. Were alarmed again at midnight but nothing appearing we turned in again.

MONDAY, 30th. About 8 o'clock the Enemy appeared with 5 or 6 floating Batteaux and a number of Batteaux in the rear of them. The Batteaux in a line of Battle making for the Post, which produced a gen'l alarm. The men displayed a fervent zeal for the cause by their alert behavior on the first signal of the Alarm. About an hour by Sun, two ships of War appeared, they also formed in line of battle with the Floating Batteries or Gun Boats, about two miles from the Jersey Redout.

THURSDAY, JULY 1st. Rested very serenely last night. No alarm all night. The Indians very plenty between this and Lake George Landing which made it hazardous passing and re-passing. Rec'd very favorable news from the Southern army at which 13 Cannon were discharged at 12 o'clock.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

—Admiral Farragut wrote to his wife, April 1862, "My country has bestowed upon me its highest honors, and I must take upon me the highest responsibilities. I never will ask my men to go where I am not willing to lead the way." Words fit for the monument of a hero!

* This should be printed "Tuesday;" but we find it, in our copy, as we have printed it.—EDITOR.

† Probably intended for "Thursday"—the week-day of that date—but we print it as we find it in our copy.—EDITOR.

IX.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—ED. HIS. MAG.]

HISTORY OF "HAIL COLUMBIA."

The following history of the now celebrated song of *Hail Columbia*, is from the pen of the author, Judge Hopkinson:

"The song was written in the Summer of 1796, "when a War with France was thought to be "inevitable—Congress being then in Session, at "Philadelphia, deliberating upon the important "subject, and acts of hostility having actually "occurred. The contest between England and "France was raging; and the people were divided "into parties for one side or the other—some "thinking that policy and duty required us to "take part with Republican France, as it was "called; others were for connecting ourselves "with England, as the great preservative power "of good principles and safe government. The "violation of our rights by both belligerents was "forcing us from the just and wise policy of "President Washington, which was to do equal "justice to both, to take part with neither, but "to keep a strict and honest neutrality between "them. The prospect of a rupture with France "was exceedingly offensive to that portion of "the people which espoused her cause; and the "violence of the spirit of party never rose higher, I think not so high, as it did at that time, "on that question. The theatre was then open "in our city. A young man belonging to it, "whose talent was a singer, was about to take "his benefit. I had known him while at school. "On this acquaintance, he called on me, in the "afternoon, his benefit being announced for the "following day. He said he had no boxes taken, "and the prospect was that he should suffer a "loss instead of receiving a benefit from the "performance; but that if he could get a patriotic song to the tune of the *President's March*, "then a popular air, he did not doubt of a full "house; that the poets of the theatrical corps "had been trying to accomplish it, but were satisfied that no words could be composed to suit "the music of that March. I told him I would "try for him. The next afternoon he came; "and the song, such as it was, was ready for "him. It was announced for him, on Monday "morning; and the theatre was crowded to excess, and so continued night after night for "the rest of the season, the song being encored "and repeated several times during each night, "and the whole audience joining in the chorus. "It was always sung at night, in the streets, by "large assemblies of citizens, including mem-

"bers of Congress. The enthusiasm was general; and the song was heard, I may say, in every part of the United States. The object of the author was to get up an American spirit which should be independent of and above the interests, policy and passions of both beligerents, and look and feel for our own honor and rights. Not an allusion is made either to France or England, nor which was most in fault, in their treatment of us. Of course, the song was a favorite with both parties; at least neither could disown the sentiments it inculcated. It was truly American and nothing else; and the patriotic feeling of every American heart responded to it. Such is the history of this song, which has endured infinitely beyond any expectation of the author, and beyond any merit it can boast of, except that of being truly and exclusively patriotic in its sentiments and spirit."

FIRST CHILD BORN IN CINCINNATI.—William Taylor, of Lafayette, Indiana, writes to the Pioneer Association of Cincinnati that he was the first white child born in that city, having first seen the light on the twentieth of March, 1791. Concerning the state of Western civilization then, he says:

"In the Spring of 1790, my father left Kentucky with his family and settled in Cincinnati, and built a cabin on Front-street, a little below Main. At that time, the settlers were frequently annoyed by prowling bands of Indians, in the neighborhood. On one occasion, my mother was preparing supper, in front of the cabin, about dark, in the evening, when an attempt was made by a savage, who was lurking close by, to shoot her; but the priming of his gun flashing in the pan, the malignant purpose of the Indian was frustrated."

He further states that the law required every man to go armed to church, under penalty of twenty-five cents fine for a failure to do so, this precaution against the Indians being necessary.

FULTON AND HIS STEAMBOAT.—The European Correspondent of the *World*, in a letter dated "Paris, July 16th," has transmitted to that journal a copy of a letter written by Fulton, in which he offered his invention to the French Conservatory of Arts and Trade.

How little did Fulton then imagine that the application of that invention to actual practice, would produce such wonderful results as those which are constantly before our eyes.

"A very interesting document, one especially so to Americans, has just been presented to the

"public, here; a copy of a letter from Robert Fulton, offering his invention of the steam-engine, as applied to boats, to the French Conservatory of Art and Trade. This letter is written from a house, No. 50 Rue Vaugirard, and is dated 4 Pluioise, An. XI. (in the days of the French Republic). As the original is in French, I transcribe it, followed by the translation:

"Je vous envoie ci-joint les dessins esquisses d'une machine que je fais construire avec laquelle je me propose de faire remonter les bateaux d'une riviere, a l'aide des pompes a feu. Lorsque mes experiences seront pretes, j'aurai le plaisir de vous inviter a les voir, et si elle reussissent, je me reserve la faculte de faire present de mes travaux a la republique ou d'en tirer l'avantage que la loi m'autorise. Actuellement, je depose ces notes entre vous mains afin que, si un projet semblable vous parvient avant mes experiences soient terminees, il n'ait pas preference sur le mein
"Salut et respect,
"ROBERT FULTON."

[TRANSLATION.]

"I send you herewith enclosed the drawings of a machine which I am having constructed, with which I propose to make vessels move by means of a fire engine. When my experiments shall be ready, I will have the pleasure of inviting you to see them, and if they succeed I reserve to myself the privilege of either making a present of my works to the Republic or of obtaining from them such advantages as the law may authorize me. Actually, I place these notes in your hands that if a similar project should reach you before my experiments are terminated, it may not have the preference over mine.

"Respectful salutations,

"ROBERT FULTON."

SCRAPS.—At a meeting of the New Historical Society, some time since, the Librarian read the following interesting memorandum, copied from a volume of Audubon's *Ornithological Biography*, now in the possession of Mr. David G. Francis, Book seller, in that city:

"This work is presented to J. Prescott Hall, Esq., by his poor Friend and sincerely attached Servant,

"JOHN J. AUDUBON.

"New York, April 4th, 1864."

"Audubon told me in the year 184—that he did not sell more than 40 copies of his great work, in England, Ireland, Scotland, and France, of which Louis Philippe took 10.

"The following received their copies, but never paid for them :

"George IV.,
 "Duchess of Clarence,
 "Marquis of Landardeky,
 "Princess of Hesse Hambourg.
 "An Irish Lord, whose name he would not give, took two copies and paid for neither.
 "Rothschild paid for his copy, but with great reluctance.

"He further said that he sold 75 copies in America, 26 in New York and 24 in Boston—that the work cost him 27,000£, and that he lost 25,000\$ by it.

"He said that Louis Philippe offered to subscribe for one hundred copies if he would publish the work in Paris. This he found could not be done, as it would have required 40 years to finish it, as things then were in Paris. Of this communication I made a memorandum at the time, which I read over to Mr. Audubon and he pronounced it correct.

"J. PRESCOTT HALL."

—The champion old lady of them all closed her career in Greenup-county, Ky., a few days ago. Her name was Mrs. Mary Gray; and, at the time of her death, she was one hundred and thirteen years, eight months, and sixteen days old. She came of a long-lived race, her mother having reached the age of one hundred; but her husband, who was born only four years before her, in 1755, dropped off something over half a century ago, at the untimely age of sixty-four. She was the mother of thirteen children, all but four of whom she followed to the grave, the survivors—two sons and two daughters—being eighty-eight, eighty-three, seventy-three, and seventy years of age. Mrs. Gray lived to see the fifth generation of her descendants numbered by the score—the full list of her lineal descendants being as follows: Children, thirteen; grand-children, sixty-five; great-grand-children, six hundred and seventeen; great-great-grand-children three hundred and thirty-seven; great-great-great-grand-children, forty-four—total one thousand and seventy-six. With such a record to fall back upon, Greenup-county, Kentucky, may safely challenge the world on the subject of old ladies.

—It has been supposed that the late Governor Greiner, of Zanesville, was the author of the old campaign-song of *Tippecanoe and Tyler too*; but the Zanesville *Signal* says: "The song of *Tippecanoe and Tyler too*, of 1840 (to the old tune of *The Little Pigs*), which many papers, in their obituary notices, ascribed to the deceased, was written by our musical and lyrical townsman, A. C. Ross, Esq., who first sang it to a Whig meeting in the old Senate-cham-

ber of the Court-house, in this city; afterwards, with the greatest applause and *encore*, at a monster Whig meeting, in Lafayette Hall, New York."—*Albany Argus*.

—Washington Irving was the author of the phrase "the almighty dollar." He used it in a sketch entitled *The Creole Village*, published in 1837; and it quickly passed into universal usage. He himself says of it: "This phrase, used for the first time in this sketch, *The Creole Village*, has since passed into current circulation, and, by some, has been questioned as savoring of irreverence. The author, therefore, owes it his orthodoxy to declare that no irreverence was intended, even to the dollar itself, which he is aware is daily becoming more and more an object of worship."

X.—BOOKS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*William Pitt Fessenden*: a memoir prepared for *The New-England Historical and Genealogical Register* for April, 1871, by Geo. Henry Preble. Reprinted for private circulation, with additions. Boston: David Clapp & Sons, Printers. 1871. Octavo, pp. 24.

Whatever Captain Preble does is done well; and, in the elegant tract before us, he has most admirably portrayed the character and history of General Samuel and Senator William Pitt Fessenden, father and son, two of Maine's most honored children. Indeed, we have seldom seen a sketch which is as complete as that of the Senator; and its estimate of the character and abilities of that distinguished man is one of the most perfect and life-like which we have ever read.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

2.—*The Early History of Morris County, New Jersey*, by the Rev. Joseph Tuttle, D.D., President of Wabash College, Indiana. Read before the New Jersey Historical Society, May 20, 1869. Newark, N. J.: 1870. Octavo, pp. 39.

There are few who are more thorough, in their investigations, than President Tuttle; and the contribution which he has here made to the local history of Morris-county is, therefore, a valuable although a short one. He traces in it "the early history" of the County, from its first out-croppings, in 1684, through the various iron-works, to the opening of the War of the Revolution; and the narrative is varied by extended notices of leading men who resided there, in the olden time—Hartshorn Fitz Randolph, Moses

Tuttle, John Jacob Fæsch, Robert Erskine, the Fords, etc.—and by sketches of the ancient churches therein, the name of the County, the settlement of Morristown, etc.

Both as a New Jersey "local" and as a help to those who shall earnestly look into the history of Morris-county and of those whose homes have been there, this tract cannot be overlooked with safety.

3.—*The General Association of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts*, 1871. *Minutes of the Sixty-ninth Annual Meeting, Easthampton, June 20-22*; with the Report on Home Evangelization and on the State of Religion, and Statistics of the Ministers and Churches. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society. 1871. Octavo, pp. 129.

The yearly record of the Orthodox Congregational Churches of Massachusetts, as presented to their General Association. The tables and other exhibits are very complete and present the subjects to which they are respectively devoted with commendable particularity—not, indeed, as elaborately as they are presented in the Maine General Conference Reports; but, nevertheless, with more than usual precision and clearness of arrangement.

In all that relates to the Churches and the Clergy of Massachusetts these Reports are exceedingly important.

4.—*Minutes of the Forty-fifth Annual Meeting of the General Conference of the Congregational Churches in Maine*: with the Sermon before the Maine Missionary Society, by Rev. Albert Cole of Cornish, and Report of the Trustees, at its Sixty-fourth Anniversary, held with the Winter-st. Congregational Church in Bath, June 27, 28, and 29, 1871. Portland: B. Thurston & Co. 1871. Octavo, pp. 128.

The subject of this work is clearly indicated on its title-page—it is the record of the work done by the Orthodox Congregational Churches in Maine, in 1870-71, and their condition at the close of the ecclesiastical year. It presents, also, the Minutes of the forty-fifth General Conference of those Churches; and it is crowded with statistics of every conceivable character which are germane to the subject. Indeed, it is a mine of material for history which few beside Deacon Duren would have attempted to produce.

5.—*General Conference of the Congregational Churches in Maine*, 1871. *The County Conferences and Report of Maine Missionary Society*, being a portion of the Minutes of the General Conference for 1871. *Sine loco, sine anno*. Octavo, pp. 28, 33-60, 64, 70, 72. 87-83, 91-111, 118, 119, 122, 123, 125, 126 of the complete work.

An abridgement, for more general circulation, of the work last noticed herein.

It is a pity the printer did not change the pagination, instead of simply taking out a page, here and there, and making a mere patch-work of them.

6.—*Annual Report of the Minnesota Historical Society, to the Legislature of Minnesota, for the year 1870*. Read and adopted at the Annual Meeting of the Society, January 9, 1871. Saint Paul: 1871. Octavo, pp. 20.

A very satisfactory Report of the labors, during 1870, of one of the youngest, but one of the most active and deserving, of the Historical Societies of the country. Indeed, its success and that of its neighbor in Wisconsin are among the marvels of the West—that region of wonderful advancement—and if the means which these Societies respectively control are considered, the wonder will be increased.

Earnest men can do wonders: those who are not in earnest seldom attain respectability in what they seek to accomplish.

7.—*The late Com. Stephen Champlin*. A Paper Read by Judge Clinton before the Buffalo Historical Society, December 5, 1870. *Sine loco, sine anno*. Octavo, pp. 7.

Proceedings of the Buffalo Historical Society at the Annual Meeting of January 11, 1871; with the Addresses of the President for the years 1869 and 1870; and list of Life, Corresponding, and Honorary Members. Buffalo: 1871. Octavo, pp. 20.

Two tracts issued by the Buffalo Historical Society, the character of which will be seen from their respective title-pages.

There are few Societies of this class which are as well conducted and as usefully employed as that of the Buffalo; and we are sure to find in all the publications bearing its imprint ample evidence of the good taste and marked ability of those who lead in the conduct of its affairs.

C.—OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

8.—*Resources of Arizona Territory with a description of the Indian tribes; ancient ruins; Cochite, Apache Chief; Antonio, Pima Chief; Stage and Wagon roads; Trade and Commerce, etc.* By authority of the Legislature. San Francisco: Francis & Valentine. 1871. Octavo, pp. 31.

This pamphlet, originating in a desire to present a reliable description of the country for the information of those who should desire to emigrate to Arizona, opens with a careful description of the Territory, County by County; and this is followed by descriptions of the various tribes of Indians—the Pimas, Maricopas, Papagoes, Yumas, Mohaves, Apaches, etc.—of the ruins of by-gone peoples, which cover the face of the country; of the various trees and plants which grow there; of the infant manufactures of the Territory; of the Mails, Stages, and Roads; of the prices of produce; of the Military stationed here; etc. It is a very important local tract; and collectors will need no further invitation to secure copies of it.

9.—*Roll of Honor, No. XXVI.* Names of soldiers who died in defense of the Union, interred in the National Cemeteries at Mound City, Illinois; Cincinnati, Columbus, Gallopolis, Cleveland, Sandusky, and Dayton, Ohio; Little Rock, Fayetteville, and Fort Smith, Arkansas; (additional to Vol. XVIII.) Fort Leavenworth, Kansas; (additional to Vol. XVIII.) Petersburg, Virginia; (additional to Vol. XIX.) Hampton, Virginia; (additional to Vol. XXV.) and Winchester, Cold Harbor, and Culpepper Court-house, Virginia; (additional to Vol. XV). Washington: Government Printing office. 1871. Octavo, pp. 250.

This volume continues the sad record of the burial-places of those who fell in the recent War of Secession, thirteen thousand, four hundred, and eleven of those places being accurately noted there, together with all that is known of the name, rank, Regiment, and death of each of the occupants.

It is a grim record; but an exceedingly important one.

10.—*Treasury Department. Monthly Reports on the Commerce and Navigation of the United States*, by the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1871. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1871. Quarto, pp. iv., 418.

The Bureau of Statistics publishes, month by month, a Report on the Commerce and Navigation of the United States, in which the details of the Imports and Exports are presented and compared with preceding Reports, etc. Besides these, the Bureau presents, from time to time, sketches of foreign countries, relative to trade, population, etc.

To those who have had occasion to turn to Seybert's *Statistical Annals*, in order to learn of the earlier statistics of the Republic, these later reports will be especially welcome: every one will appreciate the far greater importance of the labors which are so lavishly bestowed on the monthly records which now portray the current business and the productive wealth of the country, as that business and that wealth are now presented to the attention of the world, through these reports.

11.—*Message of the Mayor to the Common Council of the City of New York, June, 1871. With accompanying documents.* Sine loco [New York?] sine anno [1871?] Octavo, pp. [Message] 36, [Comptroller's Report, City] 59, [Comptroller's Report, County] 21, [Comptroller's Report, Claims against the City] 5, [Report of Corporation Counsel] 11, [Report of Police Department] 20, [Report of Commissioner of Public Works] 57, [Report of Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction] 30, [Report of the Fire Department] 22, [Report of Board of Health] 56, [Report of Department of Public Parks] 76, [Report of Superintendent of Buildings] 38, [Report of Department of Docks] 43, [Report of Board of Education] 16, [Report of Department of Taxes and Assessments] 12, [Report of Excise Commissioners] 2, [Report of Board of Apportionment on applications for charitable aid] 107.

The City of New York embraces, exclusive of its suburbs, more living souls than are embraced within nine of the States of the Union combin-

ed; it possesses more wealth than a dozen States which can be named, when combined, can produce; and, bad as it may be, there is no greater aggregate of crime or poverty than would be found among as many human beings, were they as well watched and talked about, in any other part of the country, rural or municipal. We notice that if a country Church has to be supplied with a bell or a new carpet, contributions are sought in New York from which to pay for it; and if a piece of railroad is to be built, New York furnishes the money. No country parson ever refuses a call which New York sends to him; and no country lawyer stays longer away from there than he can possibly help. Say what you will of New York, she is able to take care of herself without the help of "the country"; and her principal ills arise from the meddling with her affairs by the country scallawags who thirst for an opportunity to thrust their arms into her money-bags.

The volume before us is the record of New York's municipal affairs, for 1870-'71; and a most important record it is, as its several titles will clearly indicate. Our limited space, however, will only allow us to say that those who have preserved the successive Reports of the Central Park Commission, the Croton Board, and other local documents of that description, must now resort to this volume for the continuation of those several series.

12.—*Report of the Board of Commissioners of the Department of Public Parks of the City of New York*, in conformity with an Act of the Legislature passed May 11, 1869, and an Act passed May 19, 1870, relating to improvements of portions of the Counties of Westchester and New York, the improvement of Spuyten Duyvil Creek and Harlem River, and to facilities of communication between said Counties. Albany: The Argus Company. 1871. Octavo, pp. 39.

A most important Report of the Park Commissioners, concerning their operations in Westchester-county, under the provision of Acts of the Legislature secretly pushed through that body, without consulting those who were most interested therein and from whose hard-earned wages the Commissioners' bills are to be paid. It is interesting, too, to all who collect the Reports of the Commissioners, not only because of its importance, *per se*, but because of its scarcity—for some unknown reason, it is said to have become very rare.

As a specimen of most wretched proof-reading in an elegant dress, this Report surpasses all others.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

13.—*Sketches of Men of Progress.* By James Parton, Bayard Taylor, Hon. Amos Kendall, Rev. E. D. Mayo, J. Alexander Patten, and other writers. Embellished with handsome steel portraits by Ritchie, Perine, and Hall. New York and Hartford Publishing Company. 1870-1871. Octavo, pp. 736.

There are "fishers of men" among us, as there were in the days of the Apostles; but our "fishers" are not always of that kind which the Savior commissioned, and the mission of most of them is quite as often to seek and to profit by those who are found as it is to "seek and to save those who are lost." The publishers of this work appear to be representatives of the modern men-fishers of whom we speak.

There is among us, also, a class of men who seek notoriety and are willing to pay for it. Many of them have earned, or procured, in some way, the money they spend: others of them had fathers or grandfathers who earned or procured it for them. Some of them have nothing to boast of, except their money: others of them stroke their bare faces and talk of their blood, while, with their other hand they fumble, in their pocket, the money which, by hook or by crook, their grandfathers procured for them, and which they, by their meanness rather than by their wit, have turned over and doubled. The "men of progress," portrayed in this volume, are mostly of this class of seekers of notoriety; and, with here and there an exception, they are the fish which the New York and Hartford Publishing Co. have found on their well-directed hooks.

The fishermen and the fish, in that case, as in all others, were evidently made for each other; and it has needed only a nicely baited hook, skilfully cast into such waters as we have described and carefully handled, to yield a profitable reward to the enterprise and the industry of the sportsman.

The volume before us, as we have intimated, is only the fish-basket of just such a "fisher of men" as we have described; and "the men of progress," unless it may be the few who have been used as baits to conceal the mischievous hooks with which the others were expected to be caught, are merely those who are seeking, by this curious process, to become as famous as they have already become sick. They know no other way of getting into respectable company than by purchasing the privilege; and the five hundred dollars which it costs to secure the insertion of a portrait and a panegyric, in such a volume as this, gratifies the aspirant to fame and affords a profit to the enterprising man who conducts the operation.

It is indeed true, that, in the volume before us,

we find Mr. Bryant's portrait and his memoir; but he is unquestionably one of those "flies" with which the fishermen's hooks are concealed—one of those whose company, on steel and in print, is held out, as so desirable to the "men of progress" whose bank-accounts are better than their judgments, and for the privilege of enjoying which, in this place, they pay.

We find Governor Hoffman's too; but no one supposes that that widely-known and honored gentleman has paid for the peculiar notoriety which this publication will give him; and no one who knows him will entertain the thought, for a moment, that Doctor—Major-general by concurrent Resolution—J. Watts de Peyster has paid five hundred dollars—the round sum which those who were caught are said to have paid—for the insertion in this bunch of plebian bad taste, the chapter which bears his name and the ugly misrepresentation of his patrician head which so appropriately illustrates it.

In short, it is a mere advertising volume, of no earthly value, in literature; but, if the enterprising sportsman who has gotten it up has been paid for his labor and outlay—the notoriety-seekers having evidently obtained all they bargained for, in the spaces which they respectively paid for and filled—we imagine he has secured all that he desired and the world is not a whit the loser by the operation.

14.—*From fourteen to fourscore.* By Mrs. S. W. Jewett. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1871. Octavo, pp. iv., 416.

A very interesting romance of that class which may be called "religious," although the religious element does not override the romantic. It inclines to the anti-orthodox, without being what is called "liberal"; and its teachings, if carefully studied, will be profitable to the reader.

15.—*Reindeer, Dogs, and Snow-shoes: A Journal of Siberian Travel and Explorations made in the years 1865, 1866, and 1867.* By Richard J. Bush. With illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Octavo, pp. 529.

The demands of Commerce, responded to by Science, have exposed many a secret and brought the hidden things both of this and other worlds into the light and publicity of day. The hidden mysteries of Siberia, for instance, have been opened, under the inspiration of commercial necessity sustained by the promptings of those who are encircling the globe with the strands of the electric telegraph.

It will be remembered that the Western Union Telegraph Company, while the Atlantic cable was yet an untried experiment and an unsuccessful one, resolved to extend its lines, overland, by way of Behring's-strait, and the wilds

of Siberia and Kamtchatka, to Europe; and large expenditures of money and labor were made in that direction and in the wilderness of Northwestern America. One of the parties thus organized, was instructed to proceed by way of Petropaulovski, in Kamtchatka; and the beautiful octavo before us—one of the handsomest of the many handsome books issued by the Harpers—contains the narrative of that remarkable expedition and a carefully-written and appropriately-illustrated description of the country and its inhabitants.

We have seldom opened a volume of this class which we have laid down so unwillingly; and the interest of the narrative and the careful portrayal of the distinctive features of that distant and dreary portion of the earth's surface and of the character, habits, and manners of those whose home is there, will amply repay the time necessary for its perusal.

As we have said, the book is a very handsome one.

16.—*Speech of Victoria C. Woodhull, on the Great Political Issue of Constitutional Equality*, delivered in Lincoln Hall, Washington; Cooper Union, New York; Academy of Music, Brooklyn; Academy of Music, Philadelphia; Opera House, Syracuse; together with her Secession Speech, delivered at Apollo Hall, May 12, 1871. New York: Woodhull, Claflin, & Co. 1871. Octavo, pp. 33.

deed, who insists on "manhood suffrage," and

Whatever we may think of the instrumentalities employed, every one who regards the right of suffrage as *a natural right*—every one, intrusts his peculiar interpretation of the Declaration of Independence into men's faces as the sum and substance of all political wisdom and authority—must admit that Mrs. Woodhull's argument is a sound one; and no one who honestly reads the *Constitution for the United States*, as it now stands, can deny that she also has "the supreme law of the land," as it now stands, on her side.

We are free to say that we have seen little in Mrs. Woodhull which we have admired; but it is only just that she shall have credit where she deserves it, and, if we do not mistake, she deserves it in this instance. If "manhood," *per se*, entitles its possessor to a participation in the government of the Commonwealth and the Confederacy, why should not, also, "womanhood" entitle those who possess it to a participation in the same? If suffrage is "a right," such as life is, rather than "a privilege" which the Commonwealth may either give or withhold, at its pleasure, who has authority to draw a line where God himself has not drawn one and deny to woman what He extends to man, or deny to infants what He permits adults to enjoy? If the Constitution is, in fact as well as in name, "the supreme

"law of the land," who shall say that Mrs. Woodhull, under its amended provisions, is not as much entitled to vote as the plantation negroes of South Carolina or the Chinese of California?

But, while we sorrowfully admit the existence of circumstances to which we have referred, and believe that Mrs. Woodhull's argument, as presented in this pamphlet, is unanswerable, except by arbitrary force, we should regret to see any female for whom we have any personal respect descend into the filthy slough of partisan politics—and to be a politician, at all, in these our days, would make partisanship necessary. We should not relish the sight of our wife or sister, our daughter or our niece, our neighbor or our neighbor's neighbor, pushing her way, through clouds of tobacco-smoke and pools of tobacco-juice and amidst the ribaldry and the beastliness of modern primaries, to assist in stuffing a ballot-box or in protesting against such a stuffing of one by others; nor should we admire the bestowal of the graces and persuasions of any such on unwilling voters, to win them to her party, either at the vernal town-meeting or the autumnal general election. There are those who possess no such scruples; but we are not of them.

17.—*Jesus: His Life and Work as narrated by the four Evangelists*. By Howard Crosby. New York: University Publishing Co. 1871. Octavo, pp. 551.

Chancellor Crosby is too well known and too widely recognized and honored as one of the most learned of our countrymen to need any introduction to our readers; and the character of everything which proceeds from his pen is as well-established, the world over, as is that of the Chancellor himself. In the beautiful volume before us, Doctor Crosby has presented the narrative of the Savior's life and work, as preserved in the four Gospels, in other words and with all the illustration which modern scholarship can add to them; and we seldom meet a volume which presents greater attractions, either of style, scholarship, or typographic beauty than this. It will be widely welcomed and become as widely useful as an appropriate companion to the sacred scriptures.

18.—*Agatha's Husband*. A Novel. By the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 428. Price \$1.50.

One of the uniform series of the writings of this popular author which the Harpers are placing before the world.

Of the character of Mrs. Mulock's works our readers are already well-acquainted; and those who admire her well-earned reputation will be pleased to obtain so neat an edition of the works as this is.

19.—*The Invasion of France in 1814*: comprising the night-march of the Russian Army past Phalsbourg. From the French of M. M. Erckmann-Chatrian. With a memoir of the authors. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 369. Price 50 cents.

Another of those terribly graphic pictures of War which have made the two authors so famous, throughout Europe.

Were we a novel-reader, there are none of the class which would probably interest us more than the works of the writers of this volume.

20.—*The Annals of Albany*. By Joel Munsell. Second Edition. Albany; Joel Munsell. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. vii., 488.

The merits of the *Annals* are known and recognized by every student of American history; and as Mr. Munsell is gradually renewing his stock of the earlier volumes, by printing new editions of them, it becomes collectors and students to ascertain what changes, if any, are made in these new volumes. In the first and second, if we do not mistake, very important changes were made; and, although the Preface to this volume does not indicate any change in the text of the work, a very important foot-note stares us in the face, at the foot of the Preface, indicating the possibility of other notes—correcting other grave errors which the First Edition contained—finding places, here and there, throughout the volume. There is no safety, therefore, without adding the Second Edition to the First, in every well-provided library.

21.—*The Dialogues of Plato* Translated into English with Analyses and Introductions By B. Jowett, A.M. In four volumes. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871. Crown octavo. pp. [I.] xii., 681; [II.] vi., 607; [III.] vi., 599; [IV.] vi., 594. Price \$12.00

The excellent firm whose imprint appears on these volumes is noted, in the world of literature, for the high character of its publications; for its boldness in presenting those works to American readers, which, ordinarily, appeal only to the thinking very few; for its liberality and uprightness, in presenting its various issues, honestly, in their purity, and in dresses which are worthy of them. It has had its reward; and the good man, whose pure spirit has, until recently, controlled its work and given a tone to all that pertains to it, has reared for himself as appropriate a memorial in the list of sterling works which his firm has published, as he has, also, in the affectionate remembrance of all authors and readers who enjoyed the privilege of his personal friendship.

It was appropriate, therefore, that Plato, in this new and unrivalled form, should be published by this house; and its Publishers have discharged their self-imposed duty, in assuming the publication of this work, as they usually do,

in the most liberal manner. It is appropriately dressed in tinted paper, and printed in the best style of the Riverside Press; and its beauty as well as its intrinsic merits will ensure it a hearty welcome wherever it shall find a resting-place.

Of Plato, we need not say anything to those who habitually read the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*; but we may be allowed to say of this version of his *Dialogues*, that it is the first which has been completely translated into English by the same person; that it has been the work, almost the life-work, of one of the ripest of European scholars; that it is of surpassing excellence, as a translation; and that, both because of its successful presentation of the original and of the perfect ease and grace of the translation, it has already secured for itself the most unqualified praise of the best scholars in both Europe and America. Its Introductions are said to be excellent and appropriate; its Index is very full, concerning persons and places; and nothing seems to be wanting, in order to make it decidedly the finest and most desirable Plato which has yet appeared in an English dress.

22.—*The Rise and Fall of the Paris Commune in 1871*; with a full account of the Bombardment, Capture, and Burning of the City. By W. Pembroke Petridge. Illustrated with a map of Paris and portraits from original photographs. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 516. Price \$2.

The recent insurrection within the City of Paris, the reported connection with it of the International Society which, more recently, has figured in New York history, and the lamentable destruction of property and life, which resulted from it, are fresh in the memory of our readers. A reliable history of those events, therefore, cannot be otherwise than acceptable to all who profess to keep pace with public events.

Mr. Petridge was within the city, from the beginning to the close of the insurrection; was personally acquainted with many of the journalists who were then in Paris; and carefully sifted the various statements, which, from time to time, were made public. He has wisely introduced numerous documents, which, authoritatively tell their own stories; and there seems to be nothing wanting in order to insure accuracy and completeness. It is a terrible record: but those very horrors serve to increase the necessity there is for a scrupulous attention to the authorities on which the narrative must, necessarily, depend; and Mr. Petridge seems to have met the issue in the most satisfactory manner.

The illustrations are lithographs of only moderate quality; but the typography is excellent.

**Trial of the Officers and Crew of the Privateer
Savannah, on a charge of Piracy, in the
United States Circuit Court, for
the Southern District
of New York.**

Hon. Judges NELSON and SHIPMAN, Presiding,

Reported by A. F. WARBURTON, Stenographer,

And corrected by the Counsel.

OCTAVO pp. xvii, 385. NEW YORK, 1862.

This very celebrated trial involved the principles which control the rights of those who are insurrection and resort to the seas, in the prosecution of their purposes; and it is probable that no other work have those principles been so thoroughly or so ably discussed.

The arguments of Counsel, both those for the United States and those for the prisoners, and the Charges of the Court, were corrected by their respective authors; and this volume was published at the joint expense of the United States and the friends of the prisoners.

A few copies may be had, in Paper, at Three Dollars, in Muslin, at Four Dollars each, from

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